Lebanese Settlement in New South Wales

A Thematic History



Paul Convy
Dr. Anne Monsour

July 2008

The **MIGRATION HERITAGE CENTRE** at the Powerhouse Museum is a NSW Government initiative supported by the Community Relations Commission www.migrationheritage.nsw.gov.au

CONTENTS

Figures

Photographs - Collection of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society.

Cover Photograph**:** Stanton Melick's staff assembled behind his warehousing business in Elizabeth Lane Redfern, c. 1900**.**

Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ALHS	Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.
ALA (NSW)	Australian Lebanese Association (NSW Branch)
LMA	Lebanese Moslem Association
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NSW	New South Wales

Introduction

The Lebanese, in common with all immigrants to New South Wales (NSW) have made many contributions to the cultural landscape of the State. This thematic history describes a number of characteristics of the history of Lebanese settlement in the State and the ways in which this experience differs from other immigrant groups. Their contributions especially need to be viewed in the context of the following themes: Migration, Commerce and Labour, Rural Settlement and Urban Settlement, Religion, Leisure and Social Institutions, Sport, and Public Office and Civic Affairs. Understanding the significance of these themes will influence the way researchers view potential heritage sites and items.

The Lebanese have a long history of settlement in NSW. They began to arrive in increasing numbers during the 1880s, and by the 1890s, there were enough for them to be noticed. While the Lebanese settled all over Australia, the majority have consistently settled in NSW. In the 2006 Census, 132,773 people in NSW described themselves as having Lebanese ancestry, while 55,778 people in NSW were born in Lebanon.[1] The largest proportion of the Lebanese community in Australia, whether it includes those who were born overseas or also those who described themselves as being of Lebanese ancestry, now lives in the Sydney Metropolitan area.

A significant feature of Lebanese settlement is the impact discriminatory practices of Colonial legislation and practices under the federal White Australia Policy. The Lebanese were considered to be Asian and therefore suffered from many of the official and social discriminatory practices affecting other non-European immigrant groups. Yet because the early Lebanese settlers appeared to physically similar to Europeans, were overwhelmingly Christian, and tended to come with wives and families, many in the wider community considered them to be a special case, and legislative provisions, especially the 1920s *Nationality Act,* were relaxed to accommodate them. The Lebanese also had unique employment and settlement patterns. Most of the early settlers entered the clothing trade and many began in business as hawkers of cloth and accessory goods in rural areas of the State, which led in turn to many of them establishing rural small businesses. This led to a concentration of a substantial part of the early community living in rural and regional areas of the State. Though today most Lebanese live in metropolitan Sydney, the Lebanese workforce has a much higher percentage of self-employed than other communities. Another characteristic of the Lebanese in NSW is their religious diversity. Though the early Lebanese settlers were overwhelmingly Christian, they were divided among a number of denominations, and in the last three decades or so, have also included sizeable numbers of Muslims. Related to this is a strong attachment to kinship and village connections.

Lebanese immigrants to the State have attempted to maintain contact with the *old country* and sustain their own cultural and religious practices. Yet they have also wanted to be an integral part of the wider community as evidenced by their commitment Australian society by forming social institutions, taking part in cultural and sporting events and being prominent in the civic affairs of the State.

---

[1] Australian Bureau of Statistics. Cat. No. 2068.0 Census tables. 2006 Census of population and Housing New South Wales Tables: 20680- Country of birth of person by sex - New South Wales & Ancestry of Country of Birth by parents – New South Wales.

Under Ottoman rule, modern Lebanon was part of the province of Syria so immigrants who came to Australia from the area now known as Lebanon were referred to as *Syrians*. Some were referred to as *Ottomans* and some were referred to as *Assyrians* when people misheard the term *"a Syrian"*. This continued until around the1930s to 1950s when they came to be referred as *Lebanese* with the development of an independent Lebanon.[2] In this report we use the term *Syrian/Lebanese* for the early settlers, and *Lebanese* for those in the post-Lebanese independence era although for the purposes of the community's history in NSW, the terms can be interchangeable.

[2] Commonwealth Statistician to Secretary, Department of the Interior, 38/32817, 30 December 1938, A1/1, 38/32817, National Archives of Australia (NAA) (ACT), in Anne Monsour, 'Negotiating a Place in a White Australia: Syrian/Lebanese in Australia, 1880 to 1947, a Queensland Case Study', PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 2004, pp. 45-46.

Migration

Patterns of Immigration to Australia

To illustrate patterns of settlement Trevor Batrouney, with whom James McKay agrees, has divided Lebanese immigration to Australia into three waves: [3]

1. The first from the 1880s to the outbreak of World War Two.
2. The second was part of Australia's great post World War Two immigration programme.
3. The third spanned the period of the Lebanese civil war from 1976-1990.[4]

Batrouney has added a fourth movement of large numbers of return visits by Australian Lebanese to Lebanon in the 1990s for family reunions and tourism.[5]

Each wave has differing characteristics. The first wave was marked by the effects of discriminatory immigration policies which culminated in the severe restrictions of the White Australia Policy. This period is characterised by Lebanese immigrants hawking and establishing rural, small business as occupations. Characteristics of the second wave, such as escaping economic and social upheaval; young adventurers seeking opportunity; and a preponderance of immigrants seeking employment in the industrial labour field, have much in common with the experiences of other post World War Two immigrant groups. The third wave is characterised by the desire to flee the protracted civil war in Lebanon and to find a peaceful place to settle and raise a family, and, in contrast to the earlier waves, included a sizeable Muslim emigration from Lebanon to Australia.

Using a different framework, Anne Monsour divides Lebanese immigration to Australia from its inception until the 1970s into two periods: unrestricted and restricted.[6] The dramatic increase in Syrian/Lebanese arrivals throughout the 1890s was effectively reversed by the implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act* in 1901. After this year, the decision to come to Australia was no longer as simple as being able to afford the fare; for Syrian/Lebanese, entry was now dependent on either passing the dictation test, having an exemption permit approved by the Minister, or being considered eligible for an exemption permit by being a former resident, or the wife or child of a man not deemed a 'prohibited immigrant'.[7] Therefore, regardless of the push factors in their homeland, after 1901, it was primarily the implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act* that determined the character of Syrian/Lebanese immigration and the subsequent settlement pattern.[8] The success of immigration restriction meant that until

---

[3] McKay, Jim. *Phoenician Farewell: three generations of Lebanese Christians in Australia. (*Australian Studies in the Social Sciences Series). Melbourne : Ashwood House Academic, 1989, p. 17.

[4] Batrouney, Trevor. pp. 9-21 in *Records Made Real Lebanese Settlement 1865 to 1945: Papers from a seminar on historical sources.* Held at the Sydney Records Centre, The Rocks, 14th September 2001. Coogee: Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., 2002. p. 13.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Monsour, Anne. *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia: Syrian/Lebanese in Australia, 1880 to 1947, a Queensland Case Study,* PhD Thesis, University of Queensland, 2004, p. 51.

[7] York, Barry. *Studies in Australian Ethnic History, Number 1, 1992: Immigration Restriction, 1901-1957* Canberra: Centre for Immigration & Multicultural Studies, 1992, p. 2., in Monsour, *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia,* pp. 51-52.

[8] Monsour, *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia,* P. 52.

the 1960s, the number of Lebanese immigrants in Australia was always small.[9] Additionally, as only Lebanese who already had family or friends living in Australia were accepted as immigrants, a pattern of chain migration and clustered settlement within geographic regions was entrenched.[10] Generally, these cluster settlements occurred because family members or friends from the same village did not settle in the same town but in separate towns in the same area.[11] While this settlement pattern reflected the strength of family and village ties, it was also the result of government policy that left the responsibility for the settlement of new immigrants entirely to relatives or voluntary agencies.[12]

Leaving Lebanon

Lebanese migration to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century was part of a mass emigration from the Syria/Lebanon region. People left Lebanon to go to Egypt, other Arabic-speaking countries, and to the 'New World' (North and South America, Australia and New Zealand). By the turn of the 20th century, Lebanese had left their homeland in such great numbers that many families had experienced the loss of at least one member to a foreign land. Between 1900 and 1914 the population of Lebanon is estimated to have decreased by one quarter because of migration.[13] For the last one hundred years, the continuity and extent of emigration has been a crucial feature of Lebanese society and has resulted in the creation of a significant Lebanese Diaspora throughout the world.

Reasons for Migration

Some of the commonly cited push factors for the massive movement out of Lebanon in the late 19th and 20th century are: Turkish oppression; the violent conflict between the Christians and the Druze in the 1860s; an exploitative feudal system; the influence of foreign missionaries who encouraged and assisted converts to pursue study abroad; the depressed state of the economy due particularly to the opening of the Suez canal in 1869 which caused a decline in the silk industry; a rapidly increasing population putting pressure on the availability of land; and reports of the success of early immigrants which then influenced relatives and friends to follow in their footsteps.[14] While some scholars emphasize the desire to escape religious and political persecution, most agree that the primary reasons were the deteriorating economic conditions and/or the lure of possible wealth and prestige.[15] While religious persecution, Turkish oppression, poverty and a spirit of adventure are all given as reasons for early Lebanese migration to Australia, based on anecdotal evidence the search for better economic opportunities is the common thread.[16]

---

[9] McKay, Jim & Batrouney Trevor. 'Lebanese immigration until the 1970s', in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, 2nd ed., (ed. James Jupp), Oakleigh, Vic. : Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 556-557.

[10] Monsour, *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia*, p.280.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 376.

[13] Hitti, Philip K. *A short history of Lebanon* London: Macmillan, 1965, p. 207, in Monsour, *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia …*, p. 4.

[14] McKay, Jim. *Phoenician Farewell …* p. 30.

[15] Naff, Alixa. *Becoming American: the early Arab immigrant experience.* Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985, p. 82.

[16] Monsour. *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia…*, pp. 73-76.

Early Migration Stories
An early Sydney convict called Terry Aboud may have been Lebanese. According to a biography of the colonial executioner and hangman, Alexander "Nosey" Green, Aboud was flogged to death as punishment for looking directly at a woman of *Quality*. His surname is the same as one sourced from Lebanon so he is claimed by some to be a Lebanese convict.[17] One researcher, James Donohoe, claims that a convict named Fardy Logue, who arrived in Sydney from Ireland in 1815 aboard the *Canada,* was Lebanese, and also that the *Scarfe* name of some 1820s convicts is related to the *Scarf* name of the late 19th century Lebanese immigrants who went on to found the well-known brand of men's wear.[18]

A common and persistent Lebanese migration story is that Australia was not the destination of choice and that many of the early immigrants who arrived in Australia had actually wanted to go to the United States.[19] This may have been the case, but undoubtedly, the presence of the early immigrants whether intended or accidental, then attracted others to Australia. [20]

Many early immigration stories recount the experiences of an initial Lebanese traveller variously placed in the 1860s, 1870s, or 1880s who reached Australia and found a profitable market for souvenirs purchased in the Holy Land. On his return to his village, his news about the opportunities awaiting hawkers in Australia sparked a desire by others to flee poverty by going to Australia. In a booklet celebrating the centenary of emigration from the village of Kfarsghab, it is stated that Massoud El-Nashbi from the village of Becharre reached Australia in 1880 and sold Holy Land souvenirs to Australians for a high profit. On his return to Becharre, he recounted his success in Australia and described the friendly and generous nature of its people, hence inspiring others to follow in his footsteps.[21] Another variation of the story is recounted in a 1988 *Monthly Newsletter* of the Lebanese Christian Club of Chouf Coast which says Massoud el-Nashbi-el-Fakhri left Lebanon in 1864 without knowing his destination with religious souvenirs and ended up in Adelaide.[22]

Jim McKay speculated about whether Lebanese could have been in Australia in the 1850s.[23] He noted that a 1921 Commonwealth Census cross-tabulation between birthplace and length of residence revealed a number of *Syrian* respondents who said they had been in Australia for between 60 and 70 years. There have also been reports of marriage, baptism and death records at St Mary's Cathedral Archives for the 1850s and 1860s although McKay does not give much credence to these claims.[24] The authors and volunteer researchers have attempted to verify claims of mid-century entries of Lebanese in St Mary's Baptismal, Death and Marriage records but the results are

---

[17] Beckett, Ray and Richard. *Hangman: the life and times of Alexander Green, public executioner to the Colony of New South Wales.* 1980.
[18] Donohoe, James Hugh. *The forgotten Australians: the non-Anglo or Celtic convicts and exiles.* North Sydney: 1991 ISBN 0731651294.
[19] Batrouney and Batrouney. *Lebanese in Australia,* p. 31; McKay, *Phoenician Farewell,* p. 34.
[20] Monsour, *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia,* p. 72.
[21] Australian Kfarsghab Lebanese Association. *Centenary Jubilee of the Kfarsghab Migration 1880 – 1980.* Booklet issued for Centenary Jubilee Bay, Wentworth Hotel, Sydney, August 9, 1980. p.10.
[22] 'History of Lebanese Migration to Australia', *Monthly Newsletter*, Lebanese Christian Club of Chouf Coast: Campsie, NSW, No. 55 July 1988, p. 1.
[23] McKay, Jim. *Phoenician Farewell,* p. 34
[24] *Ibid.*

inconclusive. For instance, the full record alluded to by an 1876 Baptismal index entry for a *John Abdullah* does not exist. There are some earlier entries for names such as *Joseph Jacobs,* which could possibly be Arabic in origin, but there is not enough data to verify this.[25]

In publications, Lebanese community organizations repeatedly date the origin for Lebanese immigration to NSW as the 1850s or even earlier; however, these claims have not been verified. Indeed, none of the many family histories or stories available to the Australian Lebanese Historical Society (ALHS) provides definite evidence of settlers in NSW prior to the 1880s. However, while there will always be uncertainty about when the first Syrian/Lebanese settled in NSW and it may be that individuals did arrive earlier, some Syrian/Lebanese had definitely arrived by the early 1880s. This is supported by the fact that '[i]n New South Wales approximately 80 Syrians were naturalized between 1880 and 1889'. [26] Antonia Mansur, for example, was naturalised in 1888, having arrived in the colony of NSW in 1883.[27]

Immigration in the Colonial Era

It is difficult to track the entry of Lebanese into Australia in colonial records because they were rarely identified by name. However, based on naturalization records, it is obvious the port of Sydney was the most important point of entry for many Lebanese.[28] The Lebanese arriving in the colony would have paid their own passage and some could have arrived as crew.[29] Anecdotal evidence suggests a system developed whereby new arrivals were met by their fellow countrymen when they disembarked, provided with accommodation and taught the fundamentals of hawking. Indeed, by the early 1890s several Syrian men had established warehouses and factories in Redfern.[30] According to McKay, this group developed a 'near monopoly on incoming Syrian Labour', and it was because of these 'economic gatekeepers' in Redfern that almost all Lebanese immigrants took up hawking as their first occupation.[31]

A significant increase in Lebanese arrivals in the 1890s mirrors the general pattern of emigration from Lebanon.[32] The initially small number of emigrants in the 1870s increased significantly in the 1880s, and by the 1890s had become a major exodus. According to Samir Khalaf, there is 'virtual consensus' that in the 1890s there was a 'sharp and sudden' increase in emigration from Syria and Lebanon.[33] Until the beginning of World War One, the number of people leaving Syria and Lebanon persistently increased, leaving entire regions underpopulated.[34] However, this constant increase (between 1900 and 1914) is not reflected in the number of Lebanese arriving in

---

[25] The Baptisms, Death and Marriage records of St Mary's Cathedral in Sydney have been microfilmed, along with other Church records, by the Society of Australian Genealogists. A card catalogue in the State Library of NSW's Mitchell Library indexes the collection.
[26] McKay. *Phoenician Farewell*, p. 34.
[27] McKay. *Phoenician Farewell*, p. 34.
[28] Monsour. *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia*.
[29] State Records NSW. *Lebanese migration and settlement in NSW.* Archives in Brief No. 62. Sydney: State Records NSW, September 2005.
[30] Redfern Municipal Council, *Souvenir of Redfern Municipal Jubilee 1859-1909,* Redfern : The Council, 1909.
[31] McKay. *Phoenician Farewell, op. cit.* pp. 41-42.
[32] Monsour. *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia*, p.50.
[33] Khalaf, Samir. 'The Background and Causes of Lebanese/Syrian Immigration', in Hooglund, ed., *Crossing the Waters,* p. 18. Monsour. *Negotiating a Place in a white Australia*, p.51.
[34] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Australia which actually dropped significantly.[35] The decline in Lebanese immigration to Australia despite the persistent increase in the number of Lebanese emigrating is entirely due to the implementation of the *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901.[36]

Restrictive Federation Era Immigration

The White Australia Policy was a cornerstone of the newly federated Commonwealth of Australia and sought to exclude non-Europeans and to build a homogeneous, preferably British, population.[37] This, it was thought, would promote British institutions and traditions and ensure continued prosperity and social stability. However, these goals were actually the continuation of a well-established practice already in place in most of the Australian colonies, including NSW, of restricting non-European, but in particular Chinese, immigration and limiting their civil and economic rights.[38] After an intercolonial conference in 1888, the exclusion of Chinese was solidified with 'all colonies except Tasmania 'passing 'uniform legislation, effectively preventing nearly all Chinese immigration'.[39] Subsequently, throughout the 1890s, 'anti Chinese legislation' was extended 'to all Asiatic and coloured persons'.[40] Whatever their political allegiance, the majority of members of the first national parliament supported the ideal of a White Australia.[41]

The basis of the Whites Australia Policy the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act* which was one of the first *Acts* passed by of the new federal Parliament.[42] Its goal was to exclude 'undesirable immigrants' from entry to Australia. Throughout the Immigration Restriction Bill debate, repeated references to the desire to maintain racial purity make it clear that, in this context, 'undesirable' meant coloured. As Alfred Deakin, the Attorney General, explained early in the debate, ensuring a 'white Australia' meant:

> …the prohibition of all alien coloured immigration, and more, it means at the earliest time, by reasonable and just means, the deportation and reduction of the number of aliens in our midst. [43]

Although it was discussed quite openly in the parliamentary debates, authorities were circumspect about putting the goal of racial exclusion directly into legislation or official policies lest powerful international interests were offended.[44] Hence, the *Act* took the simple expedient, copied from the 1897 South African *Natal Act*, whereby immigration officials administered a dictation test of fifty words in *any* European language and if the

---

[35] Monsour. *Negotiating a Place in a White Australia*, p. 51.
[36] *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.
[37] Jayaraman, Raja. 'Inclusion and exclusion: an analysis of the Australian Immigration History and ethnic relations', *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 141-142.
[38] Choi, C. Y. *Chinese Migration and settlement in Australia*, Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975, pp. 20 – 35; Curthoys, Ann 'Liberalism and exclusionism: a prehistory of the White Australia Policy', in Jayasuriya, Lakisiri, David Walker & Jan Gothard, eds., *Legacies of a White Australia: race, culture and nation*, Crawley, WA, University of Western Australia Press, 2003, pp. 29-31.
[39] Curthoys. 'Liberalism and exclusionism', p. 31.
[40] Choi. *Chinese migration*, p. 27.
[41] York, Barry 'The Dictation Test: White Australia's Tangled Web', *Canberra Historical Journal*, 27 (1991), pp. 33-39.
[42] Jones, Gavin W. 'White Australia, National Identity and Population change', in *Legacies of a White Australia …*
[43] *Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates* (CPD), vol. 4, 12 September 1901, p. 4806.
[44] Yarwood, Alexander T. *Asian migration to Australia: the background to exclusion 1896-1923*, Melbourne Melbourne University Press, 1967, pp. 19-41.

applicant failed they became a ‘prohibited immigrant’.[45] This put non-Europeans at a considerable disadvantage to Europeans, and if a customs official felt that a prospective immigrant, European or non-European, was not suitable, then it was possible to select a European language for a test in which it was unlikely the applicant was familiar.[46]

With the exception of Alexander T. Yarwood’s *Asian Migration to Australia*, studies of the *Immigration Restriction Act* have virtually ignored Lebanese.[47] Yarwood’s interest was due to the fact that gradually Syrians were granted special exceptions in their favour, and, consequently, were the only Asians in Australia able to add to their numbers by both natural increase and immigration.[48] According to Yarwood, there were doubts ‘in the Department and in Parliament on the propriety of applying the same disabilities to the Syrians as to the other races of Asia’.[49] He concluded that Syrians were eventually accepted as immigrants and as citizens because they were perceived to be racially similar to the host population.[50] This view concurred with Jens Lyng’s claim that Syrians were not treated by the Australian immigration authorities as ‘pure Asiatics’ because, while the majority belonged to the ‘Semitic family’, there was ‘a large element of pure whites in Syria of the Mediterranean strain’.[51] According to Lyng, this was why Syrians were able to apply for permission to enter and settle in Australia’.[52]

In addition to their appearance, there was another significant difference between Lebanese immigrants and other Asians in Australia, which contributed to doubts about their treatment. As the following table illustrates, a conspicuous feature of Asian minority groups was the imbalance of the sexes. Indeed, the predominance of males among Asians was of great advantage to the Department in its pursuit of a White Australia.[53] In March 1903, the exemption offered by Section 3(m) of the *Act* to the wives and minor children of domiciled non-Europeans was suspended, and in 1905, it was formally repealed.[54] By keeping out new immigrants through the dictation test, and refusing to allow men already domiciled to bring out wives and establish families, the decline of the Chinese, Indian and Japanese minorities was guaranteed.[55] Hence, the high number of female Lebanese immigrants may partly explain why Syrians, as a group, were treated differently as, in their case, permitting the immigration of dependent relatives would not greatly increase their numbers.[56]

---

[45]: *Ibid.*; Jayaraman. ‘Inclusion and exclusion’, p142.
[46] London, H. I. *Non-white immigration and the ‘White Australia Policy’* Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1970, pp. 3-13.
[47] Yarwood, Alexander T. *Asian Migration to Australia: …* in Monsour. *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p. 106.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 141.
[49] *Ibid.*
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 150.
[51] Lyng, Jens. *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress,* Melbourne: University of Melbourne, 1935, p. 186.
[52] *Ibid.*
[53] Yarwood. *Asian Migration to Australia…*, p. 77.
[54] Yarwood. Alexander T. ‘Attitudes towards Non-European Migrants’, in F. S. Stevens, ed., *Racism: The Australian Experience*, 2nd ed., Sydney: Australia & New Zealand Book Company, 1974, p. 181; Yarwood. ‘The Dictation Test’, pp. 19-29.
[55] Yarwood. *Asian Migration to Australia,* p. 77.
[56] Yarwood. *Asian migration to Australia,* p. 78.

By migrating in families, Lebanese were considered to have shown an intention to settle permanently, and, as married men, Syrian males were not seen as a threat to the safety of white women or to the ideal of racial purity.[57] They were also considered less of a threat economically because, unlike single males, they needed to earn enough to support a family and were, therefore, perceived as unlikely to work for lower wages.[58] Also in their favour, in contrast to the Chinese and Japanese, Lebanese with families in Australia were considered less likely to export their earnings.[59] Another favourable characteristic which further differentiated Lebanese from other Asians was that as they were practically all Christian, their religious background was considered compatible with the host society. [60]

TABLE 1: FULL BLOOD ASIANS IN AUSTRALIA SHOWING APPROXIMATE MASCULINITY OF EACH GROUP

	1901	1901	1911	1911	1921	1921
	Total	% male	Total	% male	Total	% male
Chinese	30,542	98.5	22,753	96.1	17,157	93.3
Japanese	3,554	93.4	3,489	94	2,740	92.9
Indians*	4,681	99.2	3,653	96	3,150	94.3
Syrians	1,800	62	2,339	55.8	2,892	54.7

*This figure includes Cingalese

Source: Yarwood, Asian Migration to Australia, Appendix II, p. 163.

In contrast to other Asians, Syrians were able to add to their numbers by natural increase. [61] Then, after 1907, their population also increased through immigration because they were treated as a special case and permitted to bring dependent relatives to Australia.[62] Between 1907 and 1922, for example, 259 Syrians were given special authority to enter Australia.[63]

As Yarwood notes 'in addition to admitting Syrians on special authority, the Department sometimes allowed them to enter on certificates of exemption for up to twelve months, during which time an estimate was formed of their acceptability'.[64]
As well as restricting entry to Australia, the *Immigration Restriction Act* required Lebanese leaving Australia and intending to return to have a certificate of exemption from the dictation test. The application for exemption included a statutory declaration, character references and photographs (full face and profile).[65] Lebanese who left

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[58] *Ibid.*
[59] *Ibid.*
[60] Atlee Hunt, Memorandum for the Minister, Department of External Affairs, 20363, 27 October 1914 & Chief Clerk, Department of External Affairs, Memorandum, 20363, 27 October 1914, A1/1, 14/20363, NAA (ACT) cited in Monsour. *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p. 115.
[61] Yarwood. *Asian migration to Australia*, p. 141.
[62] *Ibid.*, p.146.
[63] Yarwood. 'The Dictation Test', *op. cit.* p. 29.
[64] Yarwood. *Asian migration to Australia*, p.146.
[65] Mary Sedawie, Application for Exemption from the Dictation Test, 4 March 1930, B13/0, 1930/16979, NAA (Melbourne), in Monsour. *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p. 120.

Australia without obtaining a certificate of exemption or who had left before Federation and returned after were required to prove prior domicile in order to be re-admitted without passing the dictation test.[66]

Customs officials had some discretion about how and to whom the dictation test was administered and did not always apply regulations correctly or consistently. A few Lebanese still managed to migrate to NSW in the early Federation period. However, once it began operating, the dictation test was gradually refined until it effectively ended non European, including Lebanese, immigration to Australia.

World War One Period

Because the Syrian/Lebanese came from an area of the Ottoman Empire, (Turkish territory), as enemy aliens there was a total prohibition on their immigration from 1914 to 1919. As Atlee Hunt noted:

> In view of the fact that Turkey has practically declared war on the allies, it is submitted that no further applications by Syrians for permission to introduce relatives or friends be proceeded with during the currency of the war.[67]

Post World War One Era of Immigration

The recovery of world shipping and communications at the end of the World War One provided opportunities for Lebanese to escape the dire economic conditions prevailing in Lebanon after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. A number of Lebanese Australians, such as Redfern warehouseman Aziz Melick, who were trapped in Lebanon during the War, were able to make arrangements to return to Australia and a limited number of others were granted entry in response to requests by family and friends already in Australia.[68]

The *Immigration Restriction Act* successfully put an end to the unrestricted entry of Syrian/Lebanese to Australia.[69] However, perceived by policy makers to have more in common with southern Europeans than with Asians, Syrian/Lebanese were granted special exemptions from the restrictions imposed by the *Act*.[70] In contrast with other Asians, Syrians were not totally excluded but their entry was restricted and closely monitored.[71] At the discretion of consecutive ministers, limited numbers of Syrians/Lebanese with well-established contacts in Australia were allowed to enter the Commonwealth on special authority.[72] As the following table shows the number of Lebanese in Australia continued to be small until the 1960s when due to gradual changes in immigration policies and priorities, increasing numbers were allowed to come to Australia.

---

[66] Monsour, *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, pp. 120-121.
[67]Atlee Hunt, Memorandum for the Minister, Department of External Affairs, 14/20363, 2 November 1914, A1/1, 14/20363, NAA (ACT), cited in Monsour, Negotiating a place in a white Australia, p. 198.
[68] Monsour, *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p.291 & 299-301.
[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 127 &.371.
[70]Yarwood, pp. 141-150, cited in Monsour, *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p.106.
[71] Monsour, *Negotiating a place in a white Australi*a, p.112.
[72]Yarwood, *Asian Migration to Australia*, p. 149, cited in Monsour, *Negotiating a place in a white Australia*, p. 127.

TABLE 2: LEBANESE BORN – AS FAR AS CAN BE PRACTICALLY DETERMINED

Year	Number Lebanese Born in Australia	Number Lebanese Born in NSW	% in NSW
1901	1498	743	49
1911	1527		
1921	1803		47
1933	2020		
1947	1886	1120	59
1954	3861		
1961	7523		
1966	10668		78
1971	24218		
1976	33424		77
1978	50723		
1981	49623	38251	75
1986	56337	42040	
1991	68787	51271	
1996	70213	52336	74.5
2001	71349	53225	74.5
2006	745858	55778	74.5

Lebanese Identity in NSW

Questions of identity and nomenclature have more than just historical interest for the Lebanese in NSW since issues about the terms used to describe them are central to their acceptance within Australian society. For the historical or heritage researcher, it is important to trace the shifting nature of these terms to understand the impact the Lebanese have had on the State.

Personal Names and Surnames

Names and surnames used by Lebanese settlers, especially those who came prior to 1945, were adopted for a variety of reasons. Some of the names are fairly accurate transliterations from Arabic while others represent various degrees of accuracy. Some names are Anglicised versions of the Arabic original. While some of the immigrants adopted nick names, others adopted British or Irish names that had no similarity to their Arabic names. Immigration officials may simply have bestowed what they thought was a suitable name.

National Identity

As already noted, because the first Lebanese immigrants came from the Ottoman province of Syria, they were called 'Syrians', or sometimes 'Ottomans'. In NSW, the process of describing themselves as 'Lebanese' was a gradual one which evolved over a period of about 30 years. [73] The use of the term Lebanese began in the early 1920s in response to changes in the political landscape in their home country and was more widespread by the 1940s. This helps explains why it is mistakenly thought that Lebanese did not come to Australia until the second part of the twentieth century.

Lebanese nationalism did not exist for the early Syrian/Lebanese settlers since there was not a country called Lebanon. Their overriding loyalty was to the complex set of relationships within a Levantine village society.[74] They had a duty their family first. If a person traced their linage from a village this probably represented many generations of

[73] McKay, James & Batrouney, Trevor. *Lebanese Immigration until the 1970s*, pp. 554-558, in The Australian People: an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins (ed. James Jupp) Oakleigh, Vic: Cambridge University Press, 2001 p. 555.
[74] McKay, Phoenician Farewell, pp. 23-30.

complex familiar relations and families tended to be of the same religion and therefore villages were usually of the same religion. For those who landed in a strange city, like Sydney, it was natural to look to fellow villagers and co-religionists for support and advice.[75] Antiochian Orthodox, for instance, from Bterram helped Antiochian Orthodox, Maronite from Becharre helped Maronite, and Melkite from Zahle helped Melkite.

The League of Nations placed Lebanon under French Mandate in 1920 and it gained semi-autonomous statehood in 1926.[76] Subsequently, in NSW, references to a 'Lebanese' identity become more common. Documents from the ensuing 30 years show there was an increasing tendency to use the term 'Lebanese'. In the early years of World War Two for instance, a number of charities formed to raise funds for patriotic causes adopted 'Lebanese' or 'Lebanon' as their national identity. In 1941, the *Sydney Morning Herald,* for instance, described a meeting at which 'Australian Syrian Lebanese' placed on record their loyalty to Britain and raised £300 for the War effort. [77] The sponsor of the event was a group called the United Lebanese Association. It was also noted that two other organisations, the Lebanese Ladies War Comforts League of Australia and the Lebanese Ladies' Association were also raising funds.[78]

Indicating a shift away from the 'Syrian/Lebanese' identity, in November 1938, the Consul General of France, J. Tremoulet wrote to the Minister for Foreign Affairs to complain that Lebanese living in Australia were classified as 'Syrians' rather than 'Lebanese' in official files.

Further illustrating the development of separate 'Syrian' and 'Lebanese' identities, in December 1938, Roland Wilson, the Commonwealth Statistician, wrote to the Secretary of the Department of Interior that as a result of advice received from the Department of External Affairs, 'Lebanese nationals' would not be included with 'Syrians' in the classification of migrants.[79] However, it was not until the Census of 1954 that the Lebanese and Syrian immigrants were classified separately.[80]

Diplomatic Representation in NSW

During the French Mandate from 1920 to 1943, the interests of the Republic of Lebanon were represented by the French Consulate and also by the businessman, Abraham D. Aboud who was designated as the 'Consul for the Republic of Lebanon'. It seems that both the Consuls officiated at important functions. Aboud, in his capacity as Consul and the French Consul General, M. Netteman, for example, both attended a 1932 dinner hosted by NSW MLC, Alexander Alam, in honour of the Lebanese Queensland, businessman Richard Arida.[81]

Lebanon gained full independence in November 1943 and in February 1947, the Department of Foreign Affairs informed the NSW State Government that Mr Halim Sheeba would represent the Republic of Lebanon as its Consul-General in Sydney. The

---

[75] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[76] McKay & Batrouney. *Lebanese Immigration until the 1970s …* p. 555.
[77] 'Syrian Lebanese in Sydney: Loyalty to Britain', *Sydney Morning Herald,* July 5th, 1941.
[78] *Ibid.*
[79] Roland Wilson to Secretary Department of the Interior, 30th December, 1938. Series A1/15 Item 1938/32817. *Classification of Lebanese and Syrian Citizens in Australia.*
[80] Mackay & Batrouney. *Lebanese Immigration until the 1970s …,* p. 555.
[81] *Freeman's Journal* Sydney. 25th February, 1932.

consulate was located at 69 Bradleys Head Road, Mosman which was also Alexander Alam's home.[82] The Arida family of Queensland purchased a property in Trelawney Street, Woollahra for the Consulate and presented it to the Lebanese Government.[83] Sheeba was replaced in November 1950 by Mr Edward Ghorra who served until 1956. Until the 1960s, there was no Lebanese Embassy in Canberra and the Consul-General in Sydney represented Lebanon's interests for all of Australia. [84]

Conclusion

The end of the White Australia Policy and changes in immigration policies since World War Two led to an increase in Lebanese immigration to Australia with the majority settling in Sydney. A significant change was that the Lebanese immigration to Australia in the last three decades of the twentieth century included an increasing number of Muslim Lebanese. In contrast, the early Syrian/Lebanese migration was predominately Christian. Other changes in government policies such as the move from *Assimilation* to *Multiculturalism* encouraged people to be more open about their cultural and religious backgrounds. As a consequence, the children of Lebanese immigrants could, if they wished, acknowledge this part of their background by identifying themselves as Lebanese-Australians.

However, events such as the Gulf War and September 11 generated hostility towards Arabs and Muslims in Australia.[85] Additionally, the media coverage of 'Lebanese' crime in Sydney has focused negative attention on the presence of Lebanese in Australian society. Jock Collins, Greg Noble, Scott Poynting and Paul Tabar have produced a number of studies that highlight the way in which the media and other institutions have dealt with a series of violent crimes in Sydney in which the perpetrators have had a Lebanese background. [86] They argue that the media tends to single out Lebanese by highlighting the ethnicity of wrongdoers with a Lebanese background, while ignoring the ethnicity of others. Authorities, including a Premier and Police Commissioner blamed "Lebanese Gangs" and media coverage emphasised "Middle Eastern appearance", a racial-profiling term NSW Police use to describe some crime suspects. Furthermore, this negative attention has occurred against a backdrop of the attack on the World Trade Centre, terrorism, the war in Iraq and the *Tampa* refugee crisis. The degree of hostility directed towards Lebanese in Sydney was further demonstrated by the racial violence at Cronulla in December 2005. Hence, at the beginning of the 21st century, issues of Lebanese identity and the status of Lebanese in Australia are receiving public scrutiny. At the beginning of the 20th century, there were doubts about the desirability of Syrian/Lebanese as immigrants; in the first decade of the 21st century the acceptance of Lebanese in Australia is once more being reappraised.

---

[82] *Consul General for Lebanon* 1947-1966, File 64/1530/A1, [13/10752]. State Records NSW.

[83] Fakhry, Petronella. 'Becharrie Pioneers to Australia', *Becharie News,* Sydney : Enfiled NSW, July 2001, Vol. 36, pp. 6-7.

[84] *Consul General for Lebanon* 1947-1966, File 64/1530/A1, [13/10752]. State Records NSW.

[85] Hage, Ghassan. 'Postscript: Arab-Australian Belonging after September 11', in *Arab-Australians Today: Citizenship and Belonging,* ed. Ghassan Hage (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2002), pp. 241–248; Michael Humphrey, 'Lebanese Since 1970', in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins*, 2 nd ed., ed. James Jupp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 567.

[86] See for instance: Collins, Jock, *et. al. Kebabs, kids, cops & crime: youth, ethnicity and crime,* Annandale, NSW : Pluto Press, 2000; & Poynting, Scott, *et. al., Bin Laden in the suburbs: criminalizing the Arab other*. (Criminology Series #18), Sydney: Sydney Inst. of Criminology, 2004.

Commerce and Labour

Lebanese settlers in NSW have followed a distinctive occupational pattern characterized by high levels of self-employment. While some of the early Syrian/Lebanese settlers, particularly in Sydney, became 'wholesalers, importers and small manufacturers', the majority were involved in petty commercial activities such as hawking and shop-keeping.[87] According to Collins et al., '[i]n 1901, 80 per cent of Lebanese in NSW were concentrated in commercial occupations'; in 1947, little had changed as '60 per cent of Lebanese' were 'either employers or self-employed'; and based on the 1991 census, Lebanese men and women were 'noticeably over-represented as self-employed'.[88] The following statistics from 1911 census show the concentration of the early Lebanese in hawking and shopkeeping: [89]

TABLE 3: CONCENTRATION OF EARLY LEBANESE IN HAWKING AND SHOP KEEPING – 1911 CENSUS

Category	Number
Merchants and Dealers (mainly storekeepers and hawkers)	455
Manufacture and sale of textiles and clothing (mainly drapers and tailors)	189
Agricultural pursuits	47
Sales of food and drink	45
Other	153
Total	**889**
Total number of *Syrian* males	1,297

Many of the Lebanese who immigrated to Australia prior to World War Two shared the experience of first hawking goods in rural areas and then setting up a small rural business. Those who migrated in the post-World War Two era, by and large, settled in suburban Sydney and enjoyed wider employment opportunities.

Redfern Warehousemen and the Clothing Trade

The Syrian/Lebanese warehousemen were central to the way in which the occupational pathways followed by Syrian/Lebanese in Australia developed.[90] They not only provided employment for Syrian/Lebanese who lived in and nearby to the Redfern quarter, they also provided goods and credit to hawkers and were major suppliers to the network of rural small businesses.[91] However, as McKay noted as the hawkers settled into permanent rural businesses and gained more experience with business in the new country, they were willing to try buying stock from non-Lebanese owned wholesalers if prices were competitive.[92] This trend accelerated when the next generation inherited their parents' business. Educated in Australia, they were more willing to buy from non-Lebanese wholesalers.[93] This diversification not only meant the Lebanese wholesalers

---

[87] Collins, Jock *et. al A shop full of dreams: ethnic small business in Australia*, Leichhardt, NSW: Pluto Press, 1995, p. 40.
[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 40 & 74.
[89] Quoted from: Wilton, Janis. *Hawking to Haberdashery: immigrants in the bush* Armidale, NSW: Armidale C.A.E., 1987, p. 46.
[90] McKay, *Phoenician Farewell*, pp. 41-42.
[91] *Ibid.*
[92] *Ibid.*
[93] *Ibid.*

lost some of their influence over the network of rural Lebanese businesses, but it also lessened the importance of the Redfern *quarter* as an economic hub for the community.

These importers and manufacturers of clothing, drapery, manchester, leather, apparel and associated goods became leaders in their fields as well as in the Lebanese community, and some employed hundreds of workers both in their factories and as out-workers. Their factories were clustered along Elizabeth Street, Redfern from Cleveland Street, Surry Hills down to Phillip Street, Waterloo, especially opposite Redfern Park. Many female immigrants and the daughters of immigrant parents worked as piece workers from home using sewing machines hired from the warehousemen.

When the Redfern Municipal Council produced a booklet in 1909 to commemorate its 50th anniversary of incorporation, it included potted biographies of five notable Syrian/Lebanese warehousemen: Stanton Melick, Naser Abdullar, George Dan, Anthony and Simon Coorey and J. G Malouf. [94] J. T. Malouf (not to be confused with J. G. Malouf) was another major warehouseman and a contemporary of these five. Others included Michael Hanna, Joseph Lahood, Abraham D. Aboud and George Solomon. Later, they were joined by other such as Bracks' leather goods and Nassers' Shoe Factory. Joseph Dahdah's Uniforms, established in 1936 and with their warehouse at 248 Cleveland Street, Surrey Hills, is one of the few remaining examples in the neighbourhood.



Stanton Melick Established 1889 – Melick's old warehouse in Elizabeth Street Redfern

For some of these enterprising Lebanese entrepreneurs, the clothing industry remained a major commercial activity throughout the 20th century and up until today. Indeed, some Lebanese brand names such as Gazal, Aboud Apparel, Saba, Scarf, and Mansour are so ubiquitous that many in the public are not aware they are of Lebanese origin.

Hawkers and a Network of Rural Businesses

In his study of Lebanese in NSW, Jim McKay found that in the period before World War Two the majority were self-employed in some form of commercial enterprise such

[94] Redfern Municipal Council, *op. cit.*

as hawking or shopkeeping.[95] According to Anne Monsour:

> Limited options due to legislative discrimination in employment and the individual immigrant's need to make money quickly, partly explain why hawking, an occupation which required no particular training, capital or language skills, yet provided an immediate cash income, was a viable first job.[96]

Most Syrian/Lebanese immigrants had meagre cash, spoke little English, and possessed few marketable employment skills. Additionally, various forms of official and social discrimination made it difficult to find employment in the industries dominated by the Anglo-Celtic labouring classes. So, the only option open for many was to 'hit the road' as hawkers of fancy goods and haberdashery in suburban and rural areas throughout the State.[97]

However as McKay notes the Syrian warehousemen in Redfern played a key role in introducing new arrivals to hawking and this explains why for most hawking was their first occupation.[98] The Redfern warehousing businesses often provided the aspiring Lebanese hawkers with a suitcase on credit to get them started. Small goods that could fit into the case were preferred: ribbons, material off-cuts, sewing needles and pins, cotton thread, thimbles, razors, handkerchiefs, underwear and other small items of clothing.[99]

Hawkers were required to obtain a licence to trade, but as T. A. Coghlan commented in the 1891 census, these were sometimes withheld from the Syrian hawkers in NSW because authorities feared that too many non-Europeans were engaging in hawking:

> … the Australian objection to alien races finds expression also in agitation against the Syrian and Indian hawkers … The magistrates of NSW have, however, partially coped with the Syrian and Indian hawker nuisance by refusing them licences, and thus driving them to other colonies where the law is not so strictly administered.[100]

The refusal to grant hawker's licences in NSW resulted in many Syrian/Lebanese relocating to Queensland which, in turn, led to agitation in that colony against the granting of hawker's licences to Asiatics.[101]

The idea that the Syrian/Lebanese hawkers were a nuisance who took advantage of *white* traders and housewives was widespread.

---

[95] McKay. *Phoenician Farewell*, pp. 43-44.
[96] Monsour, Anne. 'Sitti was a hawker! Writing Syrian/Lebanese women into Queensland History', in eds. Wendy Madsen & Angelika, *Smashing the class ceiling: women researchers in a regional community*, Centre for Social Science Research, CQU, Rockhampton, Qld., 2002, p. 4.
[97] Backes, Freda. 'Goulburn and Beyond: Lebanese hawkers, settlers and small business people of south eastern New South Wales, 1880s to 1930s' pp. 1-14 in *Goulburn and beyond: Lebanese settlement in south eastern New South Wales: 1880s to 1930s.* Coogee, NSW: Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc, 2006.
[98] McKay. Phoenician Farewell, p. 41.
[99] Backes. 'Goulburn and Beyond: Lebanese hawkers, p. 4.
[100] Coghlan, T. A.. *General Report on the Eleventh Census of New South* Wales. Sydney : Government Printer, 1894, p. 185, cited in Yeats, *op. cit.* p. 25.
[101] Monsour, Negotiating a Place in a white Australia, pp. 252-258.

Whether Syrian/Lebanese hawkers were always considered in negative terms by the general population is debatable. Anecdotal evidence suggests the hawkers did not discuss their negative experiences or speak about encountering animosity towards their hawking activities. Often their descendants point out that since they were visiting isolated communities which had few resources and few opportunities to purchase manufactured goods, it was more likely they would be welcomed, if only for the news of the outside world.[102] Nicholas Deeps of Cootamundra, for instance, says that his father and other hawkers of his generations were 'trusted and trustworthy'.[103] Rather than being nuisances, isolated rural communities often saw the arrival of the hawker as being a cause for excitement.[104]

Many of the hawkers acquired enough capital to set up small businesses in rural areas. The businesses tended to be drapery and manchester stores, but many were also general stores, men's and women's clothing, wool and skin dealing, dry cleaning, fruit and vegetable, cafés and milk bars, and movie theatres. Some of the rural small businesses opened relatively early. The Deep family store in Cootamundra, for example, was operating by 1896. The Southern Tablelands town of Braidwood had three Syrian/Lebanese general storekeepers operating there before 1900.[105] Nola Bramble estimates that by 1920, two hundred towns had 'links to Lebanese businesses'.[106]

Paid Employment

While many of the early settlers relied upon the Syrian/Lebanese wholesalers and kinship networks for employment, their children were educated in local schools and this gave them the opportunity to find paid employment in non-Syrian/Lebanese businesses. Adele Moriatry as a young woman in Redfern, for instance, felt that paid employment was liberating. World War Two manpower shortages allowed her to gain positions in the Post Office and later as bakery delivery person at a bakery in Great Buckingham Street, Redfern. [107] In the post World War Two era, in a shift away from earlier occupational pathways, many Lebanese men and women found paid employment in factories.[108] Some of these factories, such as the Sunbeam plant were located near Redfern. When the Redfern Mail Exchange was built in the early 1960s, Lebanese found employment as postal sorters. The ACI Glassworks, the Tooths Brewery, and the British Motor Works plant at Waterloo and Zetland were some of the plants in which Lebanese were employed. A consequence of ready access to paid employment was that it gave the Lebanese working class of Redfern the security of regular income and allowed them to make plans for buying homes, often in the newer suburbs to the West such as Canterbury-Bankstown and Parramatta.

---

[102] Backes, Freda. 'Goulburn and Beyond: Lebanese hawkers, settlers and small business people of south eastern New South Wales, 1880s to 1930s' pp. 1-14 in *Goulburn and beyond: Lebanese settlement in south eastern New South Wales: 1880s to 1930s.* Coogee, NSW: Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc, 2006.

[103] Caskie, Patricia, 'TV epics pale beside the Deeps family story' *Cootamundra Herald,* Wednesday 27 January 1993, p. 6.

[104] Webber, Kimberley, et. al. *What's in store? : a history of retailing in Australia.* Sydney: Powerhouse Museum in association with the NSW Heritage Office, 2003. pp. 7, 10, 82-83.

[105] Backes. *op. cit.*

[106] Bramble. *op. cit.,* p. 71.

[107] *Ibid.*

[108] Collins, Jock *et. al., A shop full of dreams,* p. 73.

Farouk Afiouny, sponsored as a confectioner, immigrated to Redfern in the early 1960s. He soon found better wages and conditions at the British Motor Works at Zetland.[109] The plant was so eager for workers he remembers teams of workers composed of the one nationality. Teams of Lebanese workers, for instance, headed by a Lebanese foreman allowed recruitment to be speeded up because the lack of English was not a problem if the foreman could pass on instructions. Afiouny recollects that they were so desperate for workers, they were willing to pay a bounty of $25 (a substantial amount then) to any current employee who introduced new employees to the production line. While he was working at the British Motor Works, Afiouny continued to manufacture nuts and confectionery in his spare time and retail them at weekend markets. Always in the back of his mind was the ambition to setup his own business. Eventually, he opened the large nut and confectionery wholesaling business, *Fleur du Liban,* in Lakemba.

The Economic Role of Women.

The role pioneer women played in developing rural areas of Australia is frequently overlooked or downplayed. [110] The significant economic role of Syrian/Lebanese women is a distinguishing and perhaps unexpected characteristic of early Lebanese settlement in Australia.[111] In 1924, in his seminal history of Lebanese settlement in the United States of America, Philip Hitti claimed that 'Syrian' migration was a family movement precisely because of the economic contribution women could make.[112] In the Australian context, it is significant that in 1892, the *Illustrated Sydney News* portrayed the 'typical Syrian hawker' as a woman with a child on her hip and a basket of goods on her arm, and claimed these women were a familiar sight in most Australian cities.[113] Women among the pioneer Lebanese settlers contributed greatly to the development of their own and the wider community.

Many of the early Lebanese pioneer hawkers were women who hawked goods throughout the rural areas of eastern Australia, often in company with their husbands, and frequently on their own.[114] Sometimes they took a different hawking route to their husbands in order to maximize the commercial opportunities. But often they were on their own through sheer necessity. Sometimes they had families to support on their own, often as widows, and aged widows at that. [115] For women on their own, hawking goods in rural areas to make a living could be hard and dangerous,[116] but sometimes not as hard and as dangerous as staying behind in their home villages in Lebanon. [117] A woman without a husband who needed to support children in the face of desperate poverty was often victimized and ostracized. [118]

---

[109] Afiouny, Farouk. *Unpublished Oral History Transcript.* [recorded in January 2003] Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. files.
[110] Backes, *op.cit.* p.13-14.
[111] See: Monsour, Anne 'Sitti was a hawker' and Anne Monsour, 'Not two steps behind but side by side– the economic role of Syrian/Lebanese women in Queensland from the 1880s to 1947', in *Records made real: Lebanese settlement 1865 to 1945 –a seminar on historical sources*, Sydney: Australian Lebanese Historical society, 2002, pp. 49-58.
[112] Hitti, Phillip. K. *Syrians in America*, New York: George H. Doran, 1924, p.58.
[113] *Illustrated Sydney News*, 19 November 1892, p.4.
[114] Monsour. 'Not two steps behind but side by side…'. p. 54.
[115] Backes. *op.cit.* p. 13-14.
[116] Monsour. ' Not two steps behind but side by side'. p. 54.
[117] Backes. *op.cit.* p. 13-14.
[118] Backes. *op.cit.* p. 13-14.

The case of Mrs. Rose Josephs presents an interesting example. Her passing was recorded in the *Braidwood Despatch* in 1938:

> **Old Identity Passes**
> The death occurred in St. John of God Hospital, last week of a picturesque old Goulburn resident, Mrs. Rosie Josephs, at the age of 97, who was a familiar figure in the Braidwood district many years ago. She was a native of Syria, and was born at Mount Lebanon. On the death of her husband she came out to Australia in the days of the old sailing vessel, making the trip on a French boat. … went to **Goulburn,** where she commenced a hawking business. In her young days she covered **the Braidwood, Moruya, Bungendore and Goulburn districts**, carrying a large bundle under each arm. She showed wonderful strength, as she made all her journeys on foot. At times she had gone down the south coast as far as Melbourne, and was known in all her districts as a splendid woman, and very fair in her dealings. During her travels "Rosa," as she was known to many people, must have covered thousands of miles on foot. Of late years, owing to failing health, she confined her activities to Goulburn, where she was a familiar and picturesque sight, pushing a pram along the streets. [119]

Why women would journey solo to a strange land and strike out alone in the less permissive pre-World War Two era raises many questions and begs further study.

Illustrating that hawking was an enduring occupation for Lebanese women, in the 1950's Alma Baynie was hawking the family produce from their market garden, including beans, from a pram around the Thornleigh district. Prams were such a ubiquitous transportation method for Lebanese women hawkers that Ralph Hawkins commented he had never thought it unusual to be buying green groceries from woman hawker's pram.[120]

Most of the Lebanese small rural businesses were on the edge of surviving financially and needed to be partnerships between married couples to remain viable.[121] The women of the family not only had to take a full share of the responsibility for running and staffing the business, they were also responsible for all the tasks associated with the running of the household. Often the family residence was attached to the rear of a shop and the women of the household would find themselves torn between the two. The women were also expected to undertake tasks such as doing alterations to clothing sold and to use *feminine* skills such as needlework to aid the business. Any spare time a women may have had was devoted to adding value to stock by doing tasks such as embroidery, knitting, sewing and hemming material for tablecloths and towels.

The role of Lebanese women in the settlement of their community in NSW has never been a subservient one. Not only have they played a major part in the economic development of the community, many have distinguished themselves in business, the arts, science and government.

---

[119] 'Old Identity Passes': Notes and News Column, *The Braidwood Despatch,* Tuesday February 15, 1938.
[120] Hawkins, Ralph *The Lebanese Community in Thornleigh. …*
[121] Backes, *op.cit.* p.13-14.

Rural Settlement and Urban Settlement

Sydney has always the important *entrée* point for Lebanese and Redfern was an important early centre for them. The Lebanese involvement in the clothing and hawking industries encouraged many to settle in rural areas either as individual families in country towns or within small cluster settlements in larger rural areas. The relative importance of Redfern as a population and cultural centre declined as former Redfern residents, and later immigrants have settled in suburban areas, especially in centres like Canterbury/Bankstown, Parramatta and Hornsby. Although there are still many people of Lebanese ancestry living in rural areas of NSW, the geographic centre of the community is in the South-western suburbs of metropolitan Sydney.

Redfern: the Syrian/Lebanese Quarter

By the 1880s enough Syrian/Lebanese had settled in and around the inner Sydney suburbs of Redfern, Surry Hills and Waterloo to form a community with its own distinctive character, a Syrian/Lebanese *quarter* known colloquially among the Lebanese as *Redfern.* It has also been called *Little Syria*, *Little Beirut* and *Little Lebanon*. Its detractors have called it a *slum* or a *ghetto.*[122]

Prior to the 1950s the *quarter* used to run along a north/south axis of Elizabeth Street and was centred opposite Redfern Park which became an important recreational space for the community. Today, a much reduced *quarter* runs along an east/west axis of Cleveland Street. Adele Moriatry (*nee* Maroon) who grew up in Redfern in the 1930s describes it as 'being like a little part of Beirut'. The smells and sounds were of Lebanon and business was undertaken in Arabic. She, like a lot of the Redfern children, only spoke Arabic until they went to school at about five years old. [123]

In November 1892, *The Illustrated Sydney News* ran a full-page story about the development of a 'Syrian Colony':

> … there exists in one of the suburbs of Sydney a rather large colony of Syrian men, women and children, which has become so numerous of late that, within the last couple of weeks, it has been found necessary to open a church for their special benefit, and a few days ago, to found a school for the education of their children.[124]

According to the article, the *colony* was founded in 1887 in Surry Hills near Moore Park by about 20 men and women and some children. Other accounts say this location was next to *Albert Ground,* although this locality does not appear on contemporary maps. This group then moved '*enmasse'* to accommodation at the corner of Phillip and Alderson Streets, Redfern. The 'colony' was concentrated on the eastern side of Elizabeth Street Redfern opposite Redfern Park, 'lying between numbers 37 and 141. Within these limits the Syrians are located in 23 shops'. The article also raises issues in

---

[122]For a fuller discussion about whether Redfern should be termed a *Quarter* or *Ghetto* see Convy, Paul. *The Lebanese Quarter: Mapping the Syrian/Lebanese Quarter at Redfern - time, place and extent.* Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. 2006.

[123] Moriarty, Adele. 'Growing up in Redfern' *Newsletter*, Coogee: The Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. No. 11 May 2003. pp. 9-11.

[124] 'Syrians in the South: a colony at Redfern', *The Illustrated Sydney News'* 18 November 1892, p. 4.

a debate about whether the *colony* of Syrians was a desirable addition to the general population. Eventually, it came down on the side of acceptance because it considered the *Syrians* to be industrious, temperate and hospitable.

The existence of this colony of *Syrians* in Redfern at first caused a considerable amount of concern among some parts of the community about the perceived deleterious impact they would have on society. The appearance of the plague in Sydney around 1900 caused concern within municipal authorities that overcrowded areas with populations of Chinese, Syrians and Indians would encourage disease. On 4th January 1900, Redfern Council discussed with some alarm the possibility of plague breaking out in the crowded Redfern quarter around the Elizabeth and Alderson Street areas which according to Alderman Sullivan, were inhabited by 'many Syrians and Indians living together'. Alderman Sullivan was concerned that if the plague reached Sydney it would attack Syrians first, especially because as many as 20 and 40 people slept in one room.[125]

By 1909, Redfern Municipal authorities were taking a different view of the Syrians. A booklet published by the Council to celebrate its Jubilee includes potted biographies of five of the major Syrian/Lebanese clothing manufacturers in Redfern and praises their business acumen, good citizenship and support of charitable works. The business houses were owned by J. G. Malouf, George Dan, Stanton Melick, Anthony and Simon Coorey and Naser Abdullah and were represented alongside other businesses of Redfern. [126]

The central location of Syrian/Lebanese-owned wholesaling and warehousing businesses and factories in Redfern attracted other Syrian/Lebanese seeking paid employment and was a convenient location from which to supply hawkers and small rural and suburban businesses. Redfern became the economic hub for the community.

The early Syrian/Lebanese immigrants were overwhelmingly Christian and the three main denominations, Melkite, Maronite and Antioch Orthodox, each built a church in the *quarter.* The churches served the religious needs of those living nearby and attempted to meet those of their adherents throughout the State in suburban and rural areas.

- St Michael's Melkite Church Wellington Street Waterloo was consecrated in 1895
- St Maroun's Maronite Church in Elizabeth Street Redfern was opened in 1897
- Antioch Orthodox Syrians cooperated with Greek Orthodox Christians to open the Holy Trinity Church in Bourke Street, Surry Hills in 1898.
- Later the Antiochian Orthodox opened a Church, St. George, in Walker Street Redfern.

Although Lebanese living in rural areas often attended their local Catholic and protestant churches on a weekly basis, they usually returned to Sydney for important religious obligations such as attending Christmas and Easter celebrations and important for ceremonies like baptisms, marriages and funerals. Sir Nicholas Shehadie, who is the

[125] Volke, Harvey. 'Of racism, plague and the Syrians' *Newsletter* of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society, No. 4, 2001. p. 3-5.
[126] Redfern Municipal Council, *Souvenir of Redfern Municipal Jubilee 1859-1909*, Redfern: The Council, 1909.

grandson and son of priests who headed the Antiochian community in Redfern, noted in his biography that the Churches became the centre of each community and the presbyteries the source of social welfare and meals. His family always shared their meals with others who were in need of assistance. Furthermore, immigrants arriving in Australia would always go directly to the home of the local priest.[127]

Thus the Redfern *quarter* became the religious and welfare centre for the Lebanese, whether they lived in the local area or further afield in rural areas.

Change and Decline in the Redfern Quarter

The importance of the Redfern *quarter* to the Lebanese community has gradually eroded. Eventually, the Lebanese owned rural, small businesses did not rely totally on the Redfern warehouses for goods. In the pre-World War Two era, wealthier members of community moved to better suburbs in the east. Slum clearances in 1950s destroyed the heart of old *quarter* at a time when many Lebanese were settling in the western suburbs. The Churches followed the population shift to the west.

Moving to Better Suburbs

Redfern was a tough, inner city suburb and although it was the focus of Syrian/Lebanese community life, over time it became a less attractive location for the immigrants and their families. Once people made enough money, they moved to 'better' suburbs. At first this meant places in the Randwick Municipality such as Coogee, Kingsford and Kensington which were just a tram ride away from Redfern.

In the post war period, some wealthier members of the community relocated to more affluent areas like Bellevue Hill and Vaucluse in the east and Strathfield, for instance, in the West. Randwick Municipality remains a centre of Lebanese settlement in NSW especially for the descendants of the earliest migrants. While a number still own property in the Redfern area, it is likely to be on the general rental market and although it may allow them to maintain a presence, the area is no longer characterized as *Lebanese.*

Diversification of Wholesalers

As small business people gained experience and as the better educated of the next generation inherited businesses, they diversified accounts and no longer dealt exclusively with the Syrian/Lebanese warehousemen. Some of the warehousemen such as A. D. Aboud who had his offices in *Pioneer House* in Broadway, had moved beyond to the *quarter* to bigger premises. Others like George Dan, who became a property developer in the 1920s, closed their businesses in Redfern and diversified their commercial activities. When Nasr Abdullah died in 1933, and when Stanton Melick died in 1955, their businesses closed. World War Two restrictions on the use of materials for consumer goods also had an impact on the Redfern businesses. However, some Lebanese enterprises benefited form demands created by the War. The Bookallil factory, for example, survived and prospered during the War because of orders for military uniforms.[128]

[127] Shehadie, Sir Nicholas. *A life worth living*. Roseville, NSW: Simon & Schuster, 2003. p.22.
[128] Storm, Doris. *The Bookalill Baz Connection* . [Sydney]: The author, [1995] (State Library of NSW Q929.20994/B724.6/1).

Slum Clearance
In the 1950s, NSW Government projects to clear slums and construct modern multi-storeyed apartment buildings in Surry Hills, Waterloo and Redfern displaced many of the Lebanese residents and buildings in the *quarter*.[129] The heart of the old *quarter*, the block bounded by Elizabeth, Phillip, Walker and Cooper Streets was slated for demolition and redevelopment. Nothing remains of what used to be the hub of the *quarter* in the Elizabeth Street block opposite Redfern Park, and Alderson Street no longer exists. The apartment blocks are named after former local politicians, figures from literature and Aboriginal stories, and there is nothing to remind people of what used to be a vibrant Syrian/Lebanese community. A few of the residents of the old *quarter* were rehoused in the new Housing Commission apartment blocks, but by and large, residents displaced by the developments found new homes in suburbs.[130]

Suburban Settlement

Campsie, Lakemba, Bankstown and Canterbury
Today, the South Western suburbs of Campsie, Lakemba, Bankstown, Canterbury, Punchbowl and Belmore are significant centres of Lebanese settlement. A walk down any of the main streets of these and nearby suburbs shows a strong Lebanese presence, but they are also areas with very diverse immigrant populations including Vietnamese, Pacific Islanders, Russians, Chinese and Koreans. It is not certain when the first Lebanese settled in the south-western suburbs; however, a number had establishes businesses in the area before World War Two. Joseph and Rosa Lahood, for example, moved from rural Penrith in 1916 and opened a drapery store in Beamish Street, Campsie. Their son, Vincent, who enlisted in the AIF during World War One and became a prisoner of war of the Germans, purchased billiard rooms and a picture theatre in Beamish Street around 1924. The theatre, which had vaudeville performances as well as film screenings was named the *Prince's Theatre* to honour the visit in of the Prince of Wales to Sydney, but was commonly known as the *Princess Theatre*. The billiard rooms business moved across Beamish Street in 1924 and was described as being the longest running business in Campsie by the areas Bi-centennial history in 1988. [131] The Lahood sign still appears above the shop awnings in Beamish Street today. [132] When Sherwan Aueb and his wife closed their general store in Braidwood around 1905, they moved to Sydney and *Sands Sydney Directories* records them as living at *Florida*, Alice Street, Lakemba in 1916.[133] A notable Campsie landmark is a group of 1920s style shops on the corner of Beamish Street and Canterbury Road with a small central tower and rampart with the words *Dan's Corner* which was built by the Dan warehousing family of Redfern. [134]

Hornsby/Thornleigh Area
An early mainstay of the Lebanese community in Thornleigh was Anthony Peter Baynie

---

[129] Annabel, Rosemary and Cable, Kenneth. South Sydney Heritage Study. (2 vols.). (Revised ed.) Sydney; Tropman & Tropman Architects. Nov. 1995, pp. 136-138.
[130] Convy, Paul. *The Lebanese Quarter:…*,
[131] Madden, Brian J. & Muir, Lesley. *Campsie's Past: a history of Campsie and Croydon Park NSW*, Campsie, NSW : Canterbury Municipal Council, 1988. pp.42-43.
[132] 'Lebanese Anzacs' *Newsletter*. Coogee: Australian Lebanese Historical Society, No. 14, Second Quarter, 2004, p. 1.
[133] Backes, *op. cit.* p. 8.
[134] Kass, Terry and Walker, Meridith. *Canterbury Heritage Study*. (2 vols.) Campsie : 1988. Inventory Number 26.3.

(1892-1991).[135] He and his family arrived in Sydney in 1925 from the village of Bann and then settled in Thornleigh. The Baynies conducted a hawking business in the North Shore area and ran a shoe repair business, and eventually became substantial landholders in the area. Over the years, Mr and Mrs Baynie nominated many of their relatives to come to Australia.[136] The Baynies helped about 100 people settle in the Thornleigh area and at times had up to forty Lebanese temporarily boarding at their property before they struck out on their own. These people, in turn, sponsored other Bann residents so that today, thousands of people who either came from Bann or are descendants of immigrants from Bann live in NSW, especially in the Hornsby area. George Aysar Mikhael (also known as Abou Hann of Bann) kept a record of the residents of Bann who emigrated from 1947 and it records the names of about 350 people who left for Australia from 1947 to 1963.[137] The people were usually Maronite and in 1989, the community purchased St Joachim's Church and reconsecrated it as St George's Maronite Church. [138] The community found employment in the small-holding, dairying and nursery farming in the district and in paid employment in the light industry plants on the North Shore.[139] Their presence is synonymous with the development of the area from semi-rural to a prosperous suburb of Sydney.

Parramatta and Harris Park

The major focus of settlement for people from the village of Kfarsgahb has been Parramatta, especially in the suburb of Harris Park. [140] The village history records that Mrs. Zahra Youssef Assad Rizak, although it does not say which year, was the first Kfarsgahbi to discover the hawking opportunities in Parramatta and that Mrs. Wardy Ghaleb Norman was the first to buy property in the area. So important has Parramatta become as a centre of Kfarsgahbi settlement in the world that the two kilometer long main street of the village in Lebanon has been renamed *Parramatta Road.* While the summer population of Kfarsgahb is now only around 1000 and less in winter, an estimated 10,000 people in Parramatta trace their ancestry from Kfarsgahb A number of Kfarsbahbi have served on Parramatta City Council. Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Church, which accommodates hundreds of worshippers, is in Harris Park. The Australian Kfarsbhab Association has it premises, which were the headquarters for the Lebanese Olympic team during the 2000 Olympics, at nearby Granville.

Another Lebanese village that has had an impact on the Parramatta region is that of Hadchit.[141] The Hadchiti who have been immigrating for 120 years to the United States,

---

[135] 'Pioneer Lebanese Catholic Family: Anthony Peter Baynie, 1892-1991' *Annals Australia*, October/November 1991, p. 25.

[136] 'Pioneer Lebanese Catholic Family: Anthony Peter Baynie, 1892-1991' *Annals Australia*, October/November 1991, p. 25.

[137] Pollard, Lily Moussa. *Bann: the Australian Immigration*. Thornleigh, NSW: Bann Research Group, 1993. pp. 47-56. George Michael's brother Dib had settled in Normanhurst, NSW and he seems to have acquired the diary which Pollard later transcribed. George Michael also kept track of Marriages and Deaths. Perhaps he may have done this in some sort of official capacity. Ralph Hawkins (*op. cit.*) noted in his unpublished essay on the Lebanese in Thornleigh says that George Michael was the parish priest. Anecdotal evidence suggests such lists were not unusual and if they still exist, would represent extremely useful genealogical resources.

[138] *Ibid.* p. 41.

[139] Hawkins. *op. cit.*

[140] Morris, Rachel. 'Now Sydney's most famous road stretches to Lebanon' *The Daily Telegraph*, Wednesday, May 8, 2002, p. 23.

[141] Hyndman-Rizik, Nelia. 'The Hadchiti Disapora: a re-territorialized Lebanese village in Western Sydney'. *Newsletter.* Coogee: Australian Lebanese Historical Society, No. 20 : Summer 2005, pp. 5-7.

began substantial settlement in the Parramatta area from the 1960s and today there are about 500 Hadchiti households in Parramatta especially in suburbs like Westmead and Harris Park. This population matches that of the home village. They are part of the larger Lebanese community that revolves around Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Church and have their own community hall, village association, youth association and telephone directory.

Rural Settlement

As noted earlier, prior to World War Two, a large proportion of the Lebanese community was scattered throughout NSW and almost every town had at least one Lebanese owned family business. These households often included members of the extended family. This network of rural businesses relied upon the Lebanese owned wholesalers in Redfern as the main source of stock.

Using the Census of 1901, Nola Bramble identified at least 200 Lebanese small rural businesses and many of these were still operating at the beginning of World War Two.[142] According to Bramble, 'many of the early businesses were located in towns which serviced a scattered population'; hence, the 'proliferation of general stores'.[143]. Setting up a rural business after a period of hawking was a typical occupational path for Lebanese immigrants prior to World War Two. Sometimes, they became wholesalers rather than retailers, or, like the Debs family who settled in Bathurst, set up a formal frock manufacturing business that serviced over 100 Lebanese shops in the regional area.

While some businesses were successful, others failed. The depression of the 1930s was a particularly difficult time for any rural small business and the Lebanese small businesses were no exception. After World War Two, the small number of new Lebanese businesses being opened in rural NSW could not match the number being closed as Lebanese families relocated to Sydney, where they sometimes established new retail businesses. Arthur and Pauline Bittar, for instance, moved from Lockhart to Gymea in 1960 and set up clothing store.[144] Similarly, in 1957, Stanley Mallick, (1910-1990) moved with his family from Blayney to Sydney to set up a men's clothing manufacturing business whose brand became the internationally recognised *Standex.*[145] Relocation meant access to education opportunities for their children.

A number of Lebanese took up farming. The Azar family, for example, bought a grazing property called *Killarney* near Warren in 1928.[146] Sarquis Solomon, who had been a farmer in Lebanon, bought a farm at Furracabad, near Glen Innes, in 1913. [147] The Moses family became the largest wool and hide merchants in NSW with branches continually trading throughout the State until the present. Currently, Martin Moses, a

---

[142] Bramble, *op. cit*.
[143] *Ibid.*
[144] Bittar, Pauline & Koorey, John. *Pauline Bittar interview by John Koorey.* (Oral History Collection Series, No. 3), Coogee, NSW: Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., 2007, p. 13.
[145] 'News of the death … of Stanley Abraham Mellick…' *The Lyndhurst Shire Chronicle,* Thursday, November 29th 1990, p. 9.
[146] Brennan, R. M. *Across the black soil plains: a history of the Warren district.* 2nd ed. Warren Shire Council, 1975, p. 90.
[147] Wilton, *Hawking to haberdashery* … p. 22.

great-grandson of the firm's founder, Charles Moses, has re-established a branch in Narrandera.

Rural Cluster Communities

Although Sydney was always the major settlement focus for Syrian/Lebanese in NSW, the development of a network of Lebanese operating businesses throughout country NSW led to the establishment of other important settlements in and around the large rural urban centres. By the late 19th century and early part of the 20th century, a number of small Lebanese communities had formed in and around the southern towns of Goulburn, Crookwell, Cootamundra, Tumut, Cooma and Braidwood.[148]



Sign from Taffa Brothers store at 139 Wallace Street, Braidwood. The building still stands in the main street. The sign is on display in the Braidwood Museum.

By the early part of the 20th century, around 20 to 30 Lebanese families can be identified as living in the border town of Albury, with others living in the twin Victorian city of Wodonga. Some of the earlier Lebanese settlers in the Albury district had come via Sydney while others had first settled in Melbourne. By 1921, there were 27 people who gave their birthplace as being "Syria". Some members of the small Lebanese community had branched out into fields other than the clothing industry, including fruit and vegetable retailing, dry cleaning and real estate.[149] The Manning Valley, and its towns of Taree, Wingham, Gloucester, and Killabakh have had a Lebanese presence since the late 19th century and new immigrants continue to be attracted to the area. They have played an important part in that area's commercial and farming history.[150]

Broken Hill has had a small Lebanese community since the late 19th century as immigrants were attracted to the town by employment in the mining industry and for the

---

148 Backes, Freda. o*p.cit.* pp.1-14.

149 Convy, Paul. 'Albury and Beyond: the Lebanese in the Border Region' pp. 48-53 in Goulbourn *and Beyond: Lebanese settlement in south eastern New South Wales: 1880's to 1930s.* Coogee: Australian Lebanese Historical Society, 2006. p.48.

150 'Lebanese settlement in the Manning', *Journal,* Wingham, NSW: Manning Valley Historical Society Inc. Number 15, February 2002. ISSN 13289829. pp. 11-15.

commercial opportunities the mining industry offered. In common with the town's other residents, the Lebanese looked to both Sydney and Adelaide as places of metropolitan interest. Indeed, some of the Lebanese immigrants had come to Broken Hill via Adelaide. According to the Kfarsghab village history, four brothers, the sons of a Kfarsghabi parish priest, were mining in Broken Hill by 1886. [151] Other villagers, encouraged by remittances home and reports of the riches of the Broken Hill mines, also set out for Adelaide in the 1880s. The first group of seven men found their way to Broken Hill and by 1890s had successful hawking businesses in western NSW.[152] Anita Mazarun recounts how her father, Wilham Hadad, used to entertain other Lebanese from the Broken Hill area in the 1940s:

> Dad had a lot of Lebanese friends because at the time there were a lot of Lebanese in Broken Hill and they all mixed together. They went for picnics or meals and visited each other's places; there were whole lot of us, especially when children were allowed to go.[153]



Exterior view of George Trad's Hawkers Van – now in the collection of the Bega Pioneers Museum

[151] Australian Kfarsghab Lebanese Association. o*p. cit.* p.10.
[152] *Ibid.*
[153] Adams, Christine. *Sharing the lode: the Broken Hill Migrant Strory…* pp. 107-108.

Religion

A characteristic of the Lebanese is their religious diversity. Unlike other Mediterranean immigrants, such as the Greeks who are overwhelmingly Orthodox Christians, or the Italians, Maltese and Spanish who are overwhelmingly Catholic, the Lebanese adhere to a number of faiths and denominations.

Sociologist Abe Ata claims that the diverse nature of Lebanese religious observance is the key to understanding the Lebanese community, and through it, both the concept of Lebanese ethnicity and acculturation. [154] Religion remains the distinguishing factor which constitutes the very essence of self-identification in a pluralistic Lebanese society. Ata, for instance, defines a number of ways in which this diversity is manifested. Firstly, Lebanese tend not only to prefer marriage within the Lebanese community but also to prefer marriage within their own sub-group or religious community. Secondly, he notes that the extent of antagonism between the different religious groups is obvious. Instead of integrating the Lebanese community by moderating conflicts, Lebanese ethnic media and organisations consciously address themselves to segments of the community.[155]

Researcher Abdallah Mograby takes a more subtle approach. [156] The Lebanese community is not a single harmonious and united community. It is rather a collection of distinctive religious communities bound together by the natural understanding that other communities are different and cannot be trusted. With a common language, geographical and cultural origins, the interests of the Lebanese communities coincide when they cooperate on mutual goals. Occasionally conflict arises when these goals do not meet.[157]

The Lebanese who migrated prior to 1947 were overwhelmingly Christian (mainly Maronite, Melkite and Orthodox) with a small number of Druze, who settled mainly in South Australia, and a handful of Muslims. In the post-World War Two era, especially from the 1970s, Lebanese Muslims settled in NSW so that today about a third of the Lebanese in NSW are Muslim.

The Melkite, Maronite and Antioch Orthodox Churches, and the Mosques operated by the Lebanese Moslem Association, are not exclusively Lebanese institutions and include adherents from Middle Eastern, African and Anglo-Celtic backgrounds. Nonetheless because of their historical origins, they are dominated by the Lebanese and have a special place in the psyche of the Lebanese community.

Priests Travelled in Rural Areas

Redfern was the residential and therefore cultural and religious centre for the early Lebanese immigrants in Sydney. However, even though they attended their local churches, Lebanese who had settled in country areas still went to great lengths to return to Sydney to fulfil major religious obligations and to attend important religious

[154] Ata, Abe W. *Arab-Lebanese religious affiliates and their attitudinal discrepancies in Australia*. North Fitzroy, Vic.: CIRC Reprints, 1987, p. 32.
[155] *Ibid.*,pp. 33-34.
[156] Mograby, Abdallah. *Lebanese political behaviour in Sydney.* MA Thesis, School of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney. 1985.
[157] *Ibid.*

celebrations in their respective Redfern church. Furthermore, although the Maronite, Melkite and Orthodox clergy were based in Redfern, they kept in contact with members of their far flung congregations by travelling from to time throughout rural NSW(and even as far as Townsville in north Queensland) to visit parishioners. When they were permitted, the Maronite and Melkite priests officiated at sacraments in Catholic Churches, while Antiochian Orthodox priests officiated at sacraments in Anglican Churches. When they were not given access to churches, they sometimes performed sacraments, such as baptisms, in parishioners' homes.

Although Lebanese Catholics in Australia were under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Church, as the following example shows they did try to maintain contact with their particular religious rites. When Mena Sarks married Albert Anthony of Charters Towers in Coonabarrabran in April 1937, the local Catholic parish priest officiated the Nuptial Mass, assisted by Father Assaf, the Maronite Priest based at St Maroun's in Sydney and Monsignor Louis Alam, a Maronite priest related to the groom, who had retired to rural NSW from Lebanon, but who still said Mass each day in Dunedoo. [158]

Melkite Church

In 1890, following petitions from Melkites living in Sydney, the Melkite Patriarch sent Father Sylwanus Mansour (1854-1929) to minister to the needs of a growing number of Melkite Syrians then living there, chiefly around Redfern. He arrived in Sydney in 1891 and secured the permission of Cardinal Moran to build a Byzantine rite church. He travelled throughout NSW, Queensland and Victoria gathering funds and support for the church and in 1893 purchased a block of land in Wellington Street, Waterloo for the site of St Michael's Church. It was completed in 1895 and consecrated by Cardinal Moran.[159]



Remains of the old St Michael's Melkite Church in Wellington Street, Redfern. The deconsecrated church building is now part of a housing complex.

[158] 'Wedding Bells, Anthony-Sarks ….' *The North-western Watchman*, Thursday 1st April, 1937, p. 8.

[159] Simmons, H. L. N. & Cuneen, Chris. " Mansour, Sylwanos" *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 10. Melbourne:MUP, 1986. p.405.

St Michael's acquired an informal ecumenical status and became a place of worship for Greek Orthodox, Antiochian Orthodox, Coptics and others from Middle Eastern religious traditions, until they were able to establish their own religious institutions. As the first Lebanese church in Australia, St Michael's was initially, for a short time, the centre of worship for Syrian/Lebanese Christians.

The increase in the number of Melkites in Sydney following mass immigration in the 1960s and 1970s meant there was a need for a larger church and in 1970, the original St Michael's Church was deconsecrated and the building and land sold for a housing development. The new St Michael's was relocated to the nearby suburb of Darlington.[160]

As the number of Melkites increased and settled in the Western Suburbs of Sydney, the Church's focus has shifted west:

- St Elias in Guildford was consecrated in 1993
- St John the Evangelist at Waterloo Road Greenacre was consecrated in 1997

In 1987, a separate Melkite Eparchy (diocese) was established for Australia and New Zealand under the Bishop, His Grace, George Riashi. In 1996, His Grace Archbishop Issam John Darwish was elected by the Melkite Greek Catholic Synod as the second Bishop of the Eparchy. The Eparchy is now based at the St. John the Evangelist centre at Greenacre.[161]

Maronite Church

St Maroun's website states that the Maronite Patriarch in Lebanon was aware of the growth in the number of Maronites in Australia by 1889 and decided to establish a Maronite Mission in Sydney. Fathers Abdallah Yazbek and Joseph Dahdah arrived in Sydney on 8th May 1893 to undertake this task. They began their mission working from the Mt Carmel Catholic Church in Waterloo and by 1894 a Maronite chapel had been set up in a house in Raglan Street, Waterloo. This chapel was used until 1897 when a Maronite church on the site of the present St Maroun's Cathedral, 627 Elizabeth Street, Redfern, was completed and dedicated by Cardinal Moran on 10th January 1897.

A growing Maronite community meant that a new St Maroun's Cathedral replaced the original Church in 1964. The old Church was demolished in 1969 and replaced by a community centre which included a school, church hall, convent and presbytery. The first Maronite school in Australia opened there in 1970 with 150 students. This site currently provides temporary premises for the Maronite Heritage Centre.

The Maronites were spurred to expand their activities by establishing new churches in the Western Suburbs due to the increase in the Maronite population and the drift of Maronites to the Latin Rite Catholic Church and hence their loss of identification as *Maronite.* In 1968, the building of the imposing Our Lady of Lebanon Church was started at Harris Park and opened in 1972. Members of the Maronite Order of Monks arrived in Sydney in February 1972 and established St Charbel's Church at Highclere

---

[160] Sedjerari, Rev. Father Joseph K., P.P. *History of St Michael's Melkite Catholic Cathedral*. [c. 2001, Typescript. Collection of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.].
[161] Dawalibi, Vivianne. *Report on the Melkite Community Profile, NSW.* [Greenacre, NSW]: Melkite Catholic Eparchy Corporation of Australia and New Zealand, 2002. pp. 7-11.

Street, Punchbowl. The first bishop, Abdo Khalife, arrived in October 1973 and established an Eparchy at St Maroun's at Redfern. The Eparchy and bishopric residence were transferred to Strathfield in the 1980s. [162] The Maronite Church is now centred in the western suburbs of Sydney:

- Our Lady of Lebanon, Harris Park opened 1972. Our Lady of Lebanon College, under the Sisters of the Holy Family, also operates next door.
- St Charbel's, Punchbowl, 1973. St Charbel's College also operates next door
- St Joseph's, Croydon
- St George's Thornleigh
- St John the Beloved, Mount Druitt under the care of the Congregation of Lebanese Marontie Missionaries, the Kremists.

In addition, Our Lady of Lebanon Church was established in West Wollongong. Masses are said at a number of other locations in the western suburbs of Sydney.
The Sisters of the Holy Family run an aged care facility at Marrickville, child care facilities at Belmore and Dulwich Hill, and St Maroun's College at Dulwich Hill.

Antiochian Orthodox
When a committee was formed in 1898 to construct a Greek Orthodox Church, its five members included two prominent Orthodox Syrians, A. Mellick and J. G. Malouf. The committee's aim was to build a church for the 200 or so Greek families then living in Sydney and for the Syrian Antiochian Orthodox community.[163]

A block of land on the corner of Ridge and Bourke Streets, Surry Hills was secured and a Byzantine style church that could hold 400 people was constructed for £600 from donated money. The *Sydney Morning Herald* noted major donations at the laying of the foundation stone as being £50 from Mr Z. Comino, £10 each from the Greek Consul, Mr. D. Kouvaras and a Mr Zackary, and £10 each from Mr. J. G. Malouf and Messrs. Stanton Melick and Co.[164]

It was intended that the Holy Trinity Church would serve all members of the Orthodox community, including the Syrian/Lebanese. For a time, this was the case with members of the Syrian/Lebanese Orthodox community attending the church and serving in official capacities. Abraham Aboud, for example, was on its board in its early days, and brass items in the church bear the imprint 'Presented by J. G. Malouf & Brothers, April 16th, 1899'. However, it appears some Antiochian Orthodox Syrian/Lebanese sometimes still attended St Michael's Melkite Church in Waterloo. The NSW Heritage Office Thematic Study of Greek settlement in NSW provides some insight into early Greek/Syrian religious cooperation:

> The first service at Holy Trinity was administered by Father Seraphim Phokas. Phokas, fluent in both Arabic and Greek, was appointed to the Holy Trinity Church by the Patriarchate of Jerusalem because the church in Surry Hills had been conjointly founded by migrants from Greece as well as from Syria and Lebanon. However, the early symbiotic relationship forged by the Greek and Arabic speaking laity of Holy Trinity was short-lived. By the early years of the

---

[162] Azize, Joseph. 'A brief history of the Maronite Church in Australia', *Marounia.* No. 8, September 2005. Special Souvenir Edition. Strathfield, NSW : Maronite Eparchy of Australia. pp. 34-36.
[163] 'Greek Orthodox Church: foundation-stones laid'. *Sydney Morning Herald,* May 30 1898.
[164] *Sydney Morning Herald,* 30th May 1898.

> twentieth century the Greek-speaking members of the church turned for their priestly appointments to the Church of Greece. This alienated the migrants from Syria and Lebanon who subsequently sought for an alternative location to practise their religion. Though the process had begun earlier, in 1921 the Syrians completely disassociated themselves from the Holy Trinity to found their own church. By then, membership of the Holy Trinity was restricted to those of Greek descent living in New South Wales and Queensland, while those elected to office remained solely the preserve of those living in Sydney.[165]

The Holy Trinity Church continues to be recognised by Antiochian Orthodox as the first Orthodox Church in Australia.

St George Antiochian Orthodox Church

In 1913, Exarch Father Nicholas Shehadie visited Sydney and was stranded there by outbreak of World War One in 1914. He conducted services for the Antiochian Orthodox community in a number of parishioners' homes until a church, St. George, was built on the corner of Walker and Redfern Streets, Redfern in 1920 on a block of land leased from the State Government. Eventually, his family joined him and they lived in the Presbytery adjoining the Church. When Father Nicholas Shehadie died in 1934, the duties of parish priest passed to his second eldest son, Father Michael Shehadie, until his death in 1951. During the Shehadie tenure of ministering to the needs of the Antiochian Orthodox community of Sydney, St. George became the focus of the Syrian/Lebanese community in NSW.

In May 1950 the NSW Government acquired the land on which the old St George Church was built for Housing Commission flats constructed as part of its *slum* clearance programme. Father Michael Shehadie found a new site on the corner of Cooper and Walker Streets, Redfern, and a new St George Cathedral was opened in 1954.[166]

In the later decades of the 20th century, Antiochians increasingly found homes in the western and south western suburbs of Sydney, and the focus of the Church has moved west in response, with new Churches established at:

- St Nicholas Church, Punchbowl
- St Mary’s Church, May’s Hill
- St Mary’s the Virgin, Mount Pritchard
- St Michael and Gabriel, Homebush
- St Nicholas Church, Bankstown (mainly Russian congregation)
- Sts. Peter and Paul, Blacktown
- St Michael, Sylvania
- St Buna-Vestire, Bankstown (mainly Romanian congregation)

St Nicholas at Punchbowl and St. Mary’s at May’s Hill have the largest of the new congregations. Another Antiochian Church, St Elias in Wollongong, commenced regular services in February 1984. [167] Prior to this, Church services in were held in

---

[165] Turnbull, Craig and Valiotis, Chris. *Beyond the Rolling Wave; A Thematic History of Greek Settlement in NSW,* Kensington: University New South Wales and New South Wales Heritage Office, 2001. p. 32.
[166] Whitehouse, Georgina. 'The Shehadie Family and the Antioch Orthodox Church', *Newsletter* of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. No.6 September 2001. pp. 3-4.
[167] St Elias Antiochian Orthodox Church Wollongong website (accessed 21 July 2007)

parishioner's homes. St Elias is a significant example of a Lebanese-centred institution established outside of the Sydney Metropolitan area.

Islam

With the exception of the Druze, there is little evidence that Muslims were among the early Syrian/Lebanese immigrants to Australia.[168] The Druze, who are the 'followers of the Fatimid Caliph al Hakim (996-1021) who proclaimed his own divinity in the early eleventh century, deviating from traditional Isma'ilite Shi'ism'[169], celebrated a century of settlement in Adelaide in 1991.[170] Perhaps there were early Muslims Lebanese immigrants but they are difficult to identify in the records.[171]

On the Islamic Council of Victoria website, Bilal Cleland noted that a prayer room was established above a shop at 79 Alderson Street, Redfern. [172]. Through email correspondence with Mr Cleland, it was established that this information came from documents held at the National Archives of Australia. On the 8th June 1910, A. Rawson, the NSW Acting Collector of Customs noted in response to an enquiry, that 'there is only one resident Mohammedan Priest in New South Wales, whose name is Mohamed Shah', and that although '[t]here are no permanent Mosques in this State, in Sydney a room in a Store at 79 Alderson Street, Redfern, is set apart for this purpose'. [173]

Alderson Street no longer exists but Sydney Sands Directories shows it was located between '20 Kettle Street Redfern and Phillip Street'. Alderson Street would have run through what is now the Police Citizens Boys Club and Department of Housing apartment buildings, parallel to Elizabeth and Walker Streets between Phillip Street and Kettle Street. It is only a small area and it must have had a very narrow roadway with tiny blocks of land. During the early 1900s, Alderson Street housed a number of people with non Anglo-Celtic names, which could have included Indian, Syrian/Lebanese and others of Middle-eastern origin. A couple of first names were Mohamed, so it appears they were Muslims. From 1907 to 1910, Mr Khola Khan (Draper) is listed as the occupant of 79 Alderson Street. With the street numbering running up from Kettle Street, Number 79 must have been near the corner of Alderson Street and Phillip Street. By 1910, Alderson Street, at least as it appears in *Sands*, had around 12 households listing a name that could have been Arabic or North Indian in origin.

Contemporary Lebanese Muslim Community

As Michael Humphrey notes, apart from the Druze settlement in Adelaide (1891), 'Muslim Lebanese settled late in the history of Lebanese migration' to Australia.[174]. Lebanese Muslim families began arriving in numbers in the 1950s, and by 1996, 38.6 per cent of Lebanese born migrants were Muslim.[175] Furthermore, about 74 per cent of

---

http://www.adflash.com.au/stelias/history.html .
[168] Monsour, Anne 'Religion Matters: the experience of Syrian/Lebanese Christians in Australia from the 1880s to 1947, *Humanities Research,* XII, 1, 2005, pp. 93-106.
[169] Salibi, K. S. *The Modern History of Lebanon,* Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1997, p. xviii.
[170] Humphrey, 'Lebanese since 1970', p. 564.
[171] Monsour, Religion Matters'; p. 97.
[172] Bilal Cleland, *Muslims in Australia: A Brief History*. Islamic Council of Victoria website. http://www.icv.org.au/history.shtml.
[173] *Numbers of Resident Mohemmedan Priests in Australia* [Islam]. Item Barcode 6132 Series Al 1910/3052. National Archives of Australia.
[174] Humphrey, 'Lebanese since 1970', p. 564.
[175] *Ibid.*

these live in NSW, with the majority in Sydney.[176] Initially, Lebanese Muslims settled in Canterbury.[177] In the early 1960s a house in Lakemba was used as a mosque and this later became the site for the Imam Ali Mosque (or Lakemba mosque) which is predominately Lebanese Sunni Muslim.[178] To meet the needs of a growing number of Lebanese Shi'ah Muslims, the al-Zahra mosque was built in Arncliffe in 1983.[179]

According to Michael Humphrey, The Lebanese Moslem Association (LMA) was formed in 1956. [180] It is probably the most important organisation representing Lebanese Muslims in NSW. In the early 1970s it acquired a number of properties in Wangee Road Lakemba and constructed the imposing Lakemba Mosque, which contemporary newspaper accounts described as being Sydney's first mosque. The activities of the LMA now reach to Muslims in general and not just the Lebanese community. In addition to the Lakemba Mosque, it also operates mosques at Cabramatta and one at rural Young from where they organise Friday prayers, requirements for religious affairs, youth services and chaplaincy. The Association also operates seven high schools with 800 students. A Youth and Community centre is an extensive development recently constructed next the Lakemba Mosque.[181]

---

[176] *Ibid.*
[177] *Ibid.*
[178] *Ibid.*
[179] *Ibid.*, pp.564-565.
[180] Humphrey, Michael, 'Muslim Lebanese' [within 'Lebanese Chapter'], *The Australian People: an encyclopaedia of the Nation, its people, and their origins.* (2nd. Ed.) Oakleigh, Vic. : Cambridge University Press, 2001, p. 564.
[181] Lebanese Muslim Association *LMA Fundraising Documentary 2003.* [VHS Video Recording] Lakemba, NSW: Lebanese Muslim Association , 2003.

Leisure and Social Institutions

Assimilation was fundamental to acceptance for early immigrants and they contributed to local affairs and community projects wherever they settled. Also, from the earliest days of settlement until the present day, the Lebanese have actively formed their own social institutions in NSW. It is difficult to quantify the exact number of groups they have formed, since social groups in general are difficult to track through time, and the Lebanese have not been assiduous in keeping and maintaining the records of their organisations. This lack of record keeping creates a challenge for the researcher. For instance, the catalogue of the State Library of NSW shows records for only a handful of publications of Lebanese organisations, even though the Library is supposed to be the primary Library for legal deposit in NSW. We know many more organisations have existed and have published material because private collections, such as that belonging to the ALHS, have acquired single numbers of, for example, newsletters and newspapers not represented in public collections. Sadly, some long standing organisations, still functioning, have not retained records of their past activities and services.

Fundraising for Patriotic Causes

When the United States Navy's Great White Fleet, with sixteen battleships and supporting ships, visited Sydney in 1908, it created huge public interest and celebrations. Most of Sydney's population tried to visit Sydney Harbour to see the fleet. The visit engendered widespread feelings of pan-Anglo-Saxonism in Australia and the visit was seen as a sign of the correctness of the White Australia Policy.[182] The portents could not have been good for a minority community like the Syrian/Lebanese who were only conditionally accepted under the White Australia Policy. Nonetheless, the Syrian/Lebanese businessmen of Redfern supported the celebration by donating fifty pounds towards the public celebrations.[183] None offcourse were invited to join the official celebration.

In common with many young people in the general community, young Lebanese men and women in NSW rushed to join the Australian military forces at the outbreak World War One and World War Two. Some had been born in Lebanon; others were the children and grandchildren of Lebanese immigrants. Lebanese immigrants and their Australian descendants threw themselves into fundraising efforts to support members of the Australian military forces. During World War Two, Therese Alam, as the wife of Alexander Alam, Labor NSW MLC was one of the most important female figures in the NSW Lebanese community at the time. She headed organisations which held many fund raising events to aid members of the Australian military forces such as *The Lebanon Ladies War Comforts League of Australia* which held balls, competitions and other social activities to raise funds for causes such as buying a fleet of Ambulances for the Australian Army or refurbishing Naval House in Sydney. [184]

---

[182] Evan, Alun. *A Navy for Australia*. Sydney : Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2001, pp. 55-60.

[183] 1083/08/242 - The American Fleet. The coming visit - reference in Parliament, donations include … from the Syrians, Fort Denison will have the saluting battery, position of veterans at the review in Centennial Park to be considered ... (*Herald*) - 1083 Town Clerks News Clippings Book, 21 Jan 1901 - 29 Dec 1925 – Sydney City Archives.

[184] The collection of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. has newspaper clippings and photographs relating to groups such as The Lebanese Ladies War Comforts League and Therese Alam who organised social events held during World War Two to raise money for patriotic causes.

Redfern Park
One of the most important social spaces for the Syrian/Lebanese was Redfern Park which was developed by Redfern Municipal Council in 1891. The southern third of the park is taken up by a sporting complex which is being refurbished by Sydney City Council. The northern two-thirds of the park are laid out as a typical Victorian formal public garden on geometric lines. In the centre of the park is a water fountain which bears a remarkable resemblance to the one in the town centre of Tripoli in northern Lebanon. The park is a perfect place for promenading, picnicking and other passive recreational pursuits, and from the 1890s was the favoured meeting and resting place for the Syrian/Lebanese in the Redfern *quarter*. It features in many stories and articles as a place where people met and exchanged gossip, and where any public social event of importance, such as a circus, was held.

In the early days an important social duty for those visiting Sydney from the country was to *call* on senior members of one's family to pay respects. In the early days, this meant visiting the *quarter* where the visitor might also need to discuss business with their wholesaler and attend to religious duties. Country visitors would join permanent Syrian/Lebanese Redfern residents to promenade in the Park. For poor hawkers who did not have a place of business, the Park was also the place where they could meet other hawkers and exchange goods and news and settle debts.

Adele Moriarty recalled that Redfern Park was a perfect place to look after her younger siblings while her parents were on hawking trips. It gave the children a place to play and there was the added advantage that they might find coins dropped accidentally by visitors to busy park.[185]

Churches and Social Activity
Places of worship have always been important centres for creative and recreational activities for the Lebanese community. For instance, journalist P. F. Sullivan describes attending a benediction service at St Maroun's Church in Redfern in 1911. During the service a Mr Jacob Barrakete played the organ accompanied by hymns sung by Misses Aida and C. Scunder. Later, Sullivan was entertained by the priests and members of the congregation in a reception hall attached to the Church, and listened to people planning a *Maronite Picnic.*[186]

The *Maronite Picnics* became something of an institution in Sydney. One of the picnics held on Clark Island in Sydney Harbour in the 1930s warranted the attendance of the Federal Labor Leader, Mr Beaseley, Mr. W. F. Dunn, MLA, Alexander Alam, MLC, Father Michael Shehadie from St George's Antiochian Orthodox Church and Father Assaf from St Maroun's [187] Miss Jeanne Suzor, the daughter of the French Consul, and her dog also attended the picnic. [188]The Maronites also used their February 1936, Clark Island Picnic to welcome Mr Suzor to Sydney as the new French Consul.

Therese Alam was also a formidable social figure within the general community. In the

---

[185] Moriarty, *op. cit.*
[186] Sullivan, P. F. 'An eastern church in Sydney; the Maronite Catholic Syrian Community'. *The Advocate.* [Sydney], Christmas Number, December 21, 1911, p. 25.
[187] Newspaper cutting and photograph dated 17th Feb, 1936. No publication name. From the collection of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.
[188] ' .. that of the Maronite Community …' Labor Daily, 17th February, 1935. [photograph and caption].

post-war period, she organised Debutante Balls, held in Paddington Town Hall for young Lebanese women from the three Christian denominations and also for *Australian* women who worked in the Lebanese owned clothing factories. The Premier's wife was the patron.

The pre-Second World War Maronites celebrated important occasions associated with France. On February 10th 1940, the *Daily Telegraph* reported that the acting French Consul-General M. Clemental was on hand when 'Sydney Lebanese yesterday celebrated their national day at St Maroun's Hall' with a toast to France. [189]

Alice Doumani remembers her mother, as the wife of the priest, being responsible for the young people in the choir and the amateur theatrical group. In 1932, for example, the Antiochian Orthodox congregation at Redfern under her auspices staged a performance of the Roman-empire themed play *Jaza El Shahania* on Easter Monday 28th March 1932. The printed programme and synopsis finishes with the words *God Save the King*![190]

Rose Melick remembered being taken to St George's church presbytery during her first week in Sydney in the 1930s when she travelled from Los Angeles. A large part of the social life of Redfern revolved around fund raising events involving card games, such as Bridge or the Arabic game of *Bustra*.[191] Twenty-five years later, Rose Melick had become a central figure in the social life of the Lebanese community in Sydney; she was, for instance, on the ball committee for the Seventh Annual Ball held at the Rex Hotel in Beach Road, Bondi in August 1958 for the Antiochian Orthodox Church of NSW. [192]

Country and suburban Picnics

Rural picnics were an important way for Lebanese to get together and stay in contact. The picnics helped the scattered community maintain a separate identity, exchange news, arrange weddings, and catch up on business affairs. Rose Melick who first came to Australia from the United States in the early 1930s, described with delight long, road trips on weekend outings in the Wagga Wagga-Riverina area where she met isolated Lebanese families. [193]

Australian beach culture appealed to Lebanese. The ALHS' photographic collection has many photographs of Lebanese in the 1920s, enjoying rural and seaside picnics at places such as Cronulla, Coogee, Manly, La Perouse and Batemans Bay. Such picnics provided another opportunity for the Lebanese to indulge in their passion for food and camaraderie, card-games and backgammon.

---

[189] 'Toast to France on National Day' *Daily Telegraph,* February 10th 1940.

[190] Programme *Jaza El Shahania* (Programme and synopsis and cast of characters). Performed Easter Monday March 28th 1932. Printed by Edwards & Best, 32 Elizabeth Street, Redfern.

[191] Melick, Rose & Crane, Helen. *Rose Melick interview by Helen Crane'* Oral History Collection Series. Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society, 2002. p. 14

[192] *Seventh Annual Ball, Rex Hotel Beach Road Bondi Friday August 29th 1958.* [Entry Ticket]. Antioch Church of NSW, Women's Committee.

[193] Melick, Rose & Crane, Helen. Op.cit. p. 13.

Non-religious Clubs & Associations

McKay in his work *Phoenician Farewell*[194] weighs up the debate about the extent to which the Redfern *quarter* was able to encourage the Lebanese to develop ethnically exclusive recreational pursuits and associations, and although he does not seem to give a definitive answer, he refutes the arguments of the inter-war years sociologist and academic Jens Lyng who contended that the *Syrians* because of their lack of homogeneity did not form societies. [195]

The evidence, however, indicates that the Lebanese did and continue to form societies and other groups, aimed at particular sectarian communities and at the broader community. The Redfern Council's booklet which was published to celebrate its Jubilee mentions a number of organisations which were active in Redfern in 1909: 'The United Syrian Association, the Syrian Committee of South Sydney Hospital, and the Ottoman Association'. [196] In 1926, Lebanon Ladies Association was established to raise hospital funds.[197] The City of Sydney Archives lists a number of development applications and approvals for various clubs and associations in the Redfern area in the post Second World War era:

- Lebanese Restaurant and Club – 278-280 Cleveland Street, Surry Hills, 1953.
- Syrian Association of NSW – 1st Floor 688 Bourke Street Redfern, 1967
- 87 Pitt Street Redfern. Use of 4 storey residential premises as a Lebanese Social Club, 1961
- The Lebanese Club – 201 Cleveland Street Redfern Use of the premises as a club, 1968
- Australian Lebanese Association of NSW – 201 Cleveland Street Redfern, Proposed erection of a cultural and community centre, 1969
- The Lebanese Club – 275 Cleveland Street, Redfern – proposed conversion of 1st floor in Lebanese Club. 1970.

The Directors of the Lebanese Restaurant and Club held a celebratory dinner on 5th July 1953 to open the club and its Souvenir Menu and noted:

> WE AIM to make OUR LEBANESE CLUB a popular rendezvous where friends meet friends, where patrons will be proud to bring their family, and where we hope to be the medium of fostering much friendship between Australians and our Lebanese people. Our growing Sydney needs more of such popular centres.[198]

Peak Organizations

An organisation based in Sydney and known as the Australian Syrian/Lebanese Association was in existence from the 1920s to 1940s. At some stage, it was headed by the prominent Redfern businessman Abraham D. Aboud and used his Broadway business house as its address. The ALHS has examples of its letterhead and other

---

[194] McKay, Jim. *Phoenician farwell* pp. 57-61.
[195] Lyng, Jens. *Non-Britishers in Australia: influence on population and progress.* Melbourne: Macmillan & Co. [2 editions], 1927 & 1935, p. 186.
[196] Redfern Municipal Council, *op. cit.*
[197] McKay, *op.cit.* p. 59.
[198] Lebanese Restaurant and Club. *Souvenir Menu* to celebrate the opening of the new Premises ... 5th July 1953.

stationary and one volume of its minutes has ended up in the archives of St George Antiochian Orthodox Cathedral [199], possibly because Aboud was the President of the Cathedral's Board for a time. Otherwise the records of this organisation could not be located and may have been lost. While the Association's name suggests that it was an earlier attempt to form a non-sectarian peak organisation, it is difficult to know if there was any direct connection with the Australian Lebanese Association (ALA) which was formed at the end of the 1940s.

The Australian Lebanese Association (NSW Branch) was formed in 1949 as a non-sectarian peak organisation to consider the interests of the Lebanese community as a whole. It has been influenced from time to time by sectarian concerns with claims that sometimes it has only represented the interests of one or more of the Christian denominations that have happened to dominate its Board. [200] Nonetheless, the ALA (NSW) is still in existence with premises and staff in Dulwich Hill and provides services to members of the Lebanese community. Its annual dinners are large, well attended events and are important enough occasions to attract prominent Members of Parliament and clerics from the Lebanese and wider community.

The Lebanese Community Council is a contemporary group which represents 40 or so Lebanese organisations with an interest in providing Social Welfare. When we visited the Council's offices in Bankstown and the discussion turned to the history of the group, the co-ordinator produced a commemorative brass plate inscribed with the year 1993 and which seemed to indicate the founding year. However, the State Library holds a Resource Directory for the Council for 1990, so the organisation seems likely to have been in existence since at least 1989. The Council includes both Christian and Muslim organisations. When we attended the Council's 2006 Dinner Dance at Bankstown, the mixed audience danced the *Dabke* wearing lapel badges in the form of tiny Australian and Lebanese flags.

Village Societies

Many village societies, which provide welfare and cultural services to immigrants and their descendants from different villages in Lebanon, are located in the Sydney metropolitan area. The ALA (NSW) has regular contact with over forty village societies. The Australian Kfarsghab Lebanese Association which was formed in 1952 is the oldest village society in the State. The Becharrie Charitable Association was formed in Reservoir Street, Surry Hills in 1961, and is the second oldest village association in NSW.[201] A recent census of Becharrien by the Becharrie Association accounted for around 1100 households in the Sydney Region. Village societies in NSW proliferated in the post-1975 (civil war) era of mass migration. The Lebanese parochial consciousness based on village and sect fitted in well with Australian Government preference for the formation of associations for *self-help* projects. [202]

Although it is difficult to quantify the prevalence of a community to engage in

---

[199] These minutes were recently uncovered by the Heritage Officer for St George Cathedral. Since the Cathedral is planning to undertake conservation work on these fragile documents before developing access policies for them, the authors were not able consult them.

[200] Humphrey, Michael. 'Sectarianism and the politics of Identity: the Lebanese in Sydney', pp. 443-471, in Hourani, A and Shehadie, N. *The Lebanese in the World: A century of migration.* London: Centre for Lebanese Studies and I. B. Tauris, London, 1992, pp. 455-457.

[201] Fakhry, *op. cit.*

[202] Humphry, Michael, 'Sectarianism and the politics of Identity', ... *Op. cit.* p. 461-463.

community groups, there are some indications that the Lebanese do form and support a wide range of community groups. The Lebanese Community Council of NSW Resource directory for 1990, for instance, listed around 110 exclusively Lebanese social, welfare, village and recreation Societies that were based in Sydney. In addition, it listed roughly the same number of groups termed *Arabic* or *Islamic* which may include Lebanese.[203]

Restaurants and Food

It is difficult to imagine Sydney without its wide choice of multicultural cafes and restaurants. Restaurants that advertised as being *Lebanese* did not exist until the mid-1960s. A Lebanese man operated a hamburger café in busy Cleveland Street in the 1940s and 1950s which was called the *Empire Hamburger Café* suggesting a mix of British imperial loyalties and new American fashion. Today, the same shop houses the very Lebanese sounding *Fatima's Lebanese Restaurant.*

The first restaurant generally recognised as being a Lebanese Restaurant was *Wilson's Lebanese Restaurant* at 91 Pitt Street, Redfern (near the corner of Redfern Street). Its take-away menu described the restaurant as 'The first Lebanese Restaurant in Sydney'. "Wilson", who was the chef from the previously mentioned Lebanese Club in Cleveland Street, had anglicised his name.

During the 1960's and through to the 1980's, a number of other Lebanese restaurants opened in the Redfern/Surry Hills area, especially near the corner of Elizabeth and Cleveland Streets, on the edge of old Redfern *quarte*r. Arabic script and symbols were not displayed on commercial buildings until the 1960s, but today's Lebanese businesses make a point of their "*exotic*-ness". Hibibi Lebanese Restaurant at 272 Cleveland Street Surry Hills, for instance, advertises belly dancers and cushion rooms. Omar Ghazal operates Abdul's Exotic Restaurant (established 1968*)* around the corner at 563 Elizabeth Street, Surry Hills in a multi-storied terrace building that also let rooms to new immigrants. Lebanese restaurants, bakers and suppliers of middle-eastern cooking ingredients are a feature of most suburban and some rural, shopping centres today.

Even though many Lebanese attempted to hide their 'foreign-ness' from the general community, in the private sphere of the home many of the traditions of the old village society remained intact. This was particularly the case for food and cooking. Dawn, Elaine, and Selwa Anthony, the daughters of Lebanese immigrants who set up a small business in Cowra in the 1920s, wrote the best-selling *Lebanese Cookbook*, first published in 1978 and now in its second edition. [204] The book is a compilation of 150 recipes which had 'been handed down from mother to daughter for generations' and was applauded as the 'first authentic and comprehensive book of Lebanese cookery ever published outside Lebanon.' As well providing recipes, it includes information about Lebanon and its way of life, customs and style of eating. Selwa Anthony also co-operated with Peter Taylor on chapter on Lebanese cookery in the 1982 work, *Food from far away: an ethnic cookbook for Australians.*[205]

---

[203] Lebanese Community Council of NSW. *Resource Directory*.Bankstown, NSW: LCC of NSW, 1990, pp. pp. 37 – 44 'Community Organisations'.

[204] Anthony, Dawn, Elaine & Selwa. *Lebanese Cookbook.* Sydney: Ure Smith, 1978.

[205] 'Lebanese' pp. 64-73, in Taylor, Peter, *Food from far away: an ethnic cookbook for Australians.* Sydney: Doubleday, 1982.

Anita Mazarun, the daughter of Lebanese immigrants, describes how domestic Lebanese traditions have survived in her family, and down to her children and grandchildren, despite her father's desire for his children to be *Australian* and attempting to only speak English in the household.[206] People from the small Lebanese community in Broken Hill would often get together for picnics and dinners and Anita would have the opportunity to listen to them speak Arabic, which she learnt to understand. The friends would drink coffee, play *tolle* (backgammon) and eat the Lebanese food which she watched her father prepare. To make *kibbe* meat, he would grind the lamb by hand in a *jirrin* in the back yard and boil the wheat to crack it and make *burragul.*

In 2002, Parramatta Heritage Centre in partnership with Information and Cultural Exchange (ICE) and the Powerhouse Museum staged an exhibition that featured the cooking implements used in the Arabic community and relied heavily on the experiences of early Lebanese settlers.[207] Called *Jirrin Journey*, it focused on the large stone mortars (*jirrin)* and wooden pestles (*m'h'baaj*) used to pound lamb meat into a fine consistency. This pounded meat was then combined with cracked wheat and spices to make *kibbe*, the Lebanese national dish. As Sadie Abood (*nee* Betros) (1926-2001) reminisced 'one of my earliest memories of Redfern is walking down Elizabeth Street on a Sunday morning, and hearing [sic] the sound of the jirrin'[208]

Arabic Press

Perhaps reflecting the size of the Arabic speaking population, an Arabic Press did not develop in Australia until almost 100 years after the arrival of the initial Syrian/Lebanese immigrants. A well known Arabic newspaper *El Telegraph* was established in 1970 (publication 22,000 in 1970). In 1978, a number of journalists decided to break away from *El Telegraph* to publish an alternative paper, *El Naher* (The Day). Other newspapers which have aimed to attract Lebanese readership include *Middle East News, Saout El Moughtareb* (The Voice of the Migrant) established in 1976, *Al Watan, Sada Loubnan, Al Daaway, Al Bairak (1986)* and *The Orient.*[209] The National Library holds runs of *El Telegraph, An Nahar* and *Al Bairak.*[210]

Many organisations within the Lebanese community have published newspapers, newsletters and magazines designed for distribution chiefly amongst their own membership. Except in rare cases where a few individual issues have survived in organisational records and private collections, copies of these publications have not been kept. The result is that much historical and genealogical data has been lost. One major publication for which the ALHS holds one original copy of an issue and a photocopy of another is *The Cedars* newspaper produced by the Australian Lebanese Association (ALA (NSW)) of NSW during the 1950s.[211]

---

206 Adams, Christine. *Sharing the lode: the Broken Hill Migrant Strory…*, pp. 106-109.
207 Saleh, Lillian. 'A sound way to Arabian days: *Jirrin* Journey'. *The Daily Telegraph*, Saturday 8th February, 2002, p. 83.
208 *Jirrin Journey: Arabic heritage and contemporary artists* [Exhibition catalogue], held at the Parramatta Heritage Centre, 1st February, 2002 to 31st March 2002. ISBN 0958026904.
209 Drury , Susan. *The Lebanese.* Making Australian Society Series, West Melbourne, Vic.: Nelson, 1981.
210 York, Barry. 'Ethnic Press: Asians and Arabs, 1980-1990s' pp. 15-17, *National Library of Australia News*, December 2003. p. 17.
211 *The Cedars*. Official Journal of the Australian Lebanese Association, Vol. 1 No. 3 November – December, 1958. & Vol. 1 No. 4, February-March, 1959.

Sport

'Lebanese run backwards' is a refrain often heard amongst Lebanese who despair at their perceived national inadequacy in the sporting arena, especially in comparison to 'sports-mad Australians'. Yet when one looks objectively at the historical data, it is clear that Lebanese in NSW have, despite popular beliefs, contributed significantly to the sporting life of the State.

The horse racing industry found robust participants in all immigrant groups, none more enthusiastic than the Lebanese. All facets fascinate. Betting, bookmaking, ownership and training have provided employment and social intercourse over generations.

Rugby League

Unlike most non-Anglo-Celtic ethnic groups in NSW, the Lebanese have not shunned Rugby League and participated all football codes as well as Soccer.

Because the Syrian/Lebanese Quarter was located in Redfern, the heartland of South Sydney Rugby League Club, the Lebanese became early supporters of Souths. [212] One of the early 'Syrian' warehousemen, Naser Abdullah (1867-1933), for instance, became a respected player with South Sydney Rugby Union Club in the 1890s and when that club broke away with seven other clubs to form the NSW Rugby League in 1908, he was involved in the launch of the Club within the new Rugby League code. [213] The South Sydney Rabbitohs' website's list of players shows a number of Lebanese having played for the club since then. G. Monsour played in 1924 and 1928-1930; V. Moses in 1932-1934; Joe Jacobs in 1933; Vince Mahoub in 1937-1940; Cyril Moses in 1942; and R. Solomon in 1946. [214] Enterprisingly, at least one Lebanese, Redfern teenager took the opportunity of Redfern Oval being the home side for the Rabbitohs to sell confectionary at sporting fixtures.[215] Eileen Shalhoub (*nee* Matta) (1910 – 2006), who helped run a family clothing business in Coogee, had a successful sporting career which included playing not only representative cricket but representing NSW in women's Rugby League. [216]

One of the modern *greats* of Rugby League is the son of Lebanese migrants, Benny Elias. He was an integral part of the successful Balmain Tigers team of the 1980s and played 233 first grade games for the team between 1982 and 1994. He represented NSW and Australia and captained the winning 1993 NSW State of Origin side.

The Lebanese support for the Bulldogs has been boosted by the crucial role the Lebanese Muslim football champion, Hazem El Masri, has played in recent years as a vital part of this champion team and a prolific point-scoring winger. El Masri was born in Lebanon and came up through the ranks of junior Rugby football in Canterbury-Bankstown. He has represented Australia in International matches and was the captain

---

[212] Nasser, Roger. *From Kousba to Clermont: the Nasser and Solomon Families' Australian story.* [Brisbane]; the author, 2001. ISBN 0646406671

[213] *Ibid.* p. 155.

[214] South Sydney Rabbitohs website: *http://www.souths.com.au*. See 'Tradition' then year by year lists of plays. Site accessed 27 March 2007.

[215] 'Birbara, Emil and Eva' p. 128 from *St George Cathedral and its People …. Op.cit.*

[216] 'Shalhoub, Nicholas and Eileen', p. 33. *Ibid.*

of the Lebanon team in the year 2000 World Cup. [217] His popularity has been enhanced by his role as a community activist promoting football as a way of creating social harmony and assisting troubled youth.[218]

The other football code in which the Lebanese have had a significant impact is Rugby Union. The Shehadie brothers, Nicholas (later Sir Nicholas) and George played in first grade teams for the Randwick side in the 1940s and 1950s. Sir Nicholas Shehadie went on to represent Australia internationally and to be the Australian Rugby Captain.[219]

Soccer, as a world game, has wide appeal and has it adherents among the Lebanese as well. Wollongong clubs, for instance, have supplied a number of notable Australian Lebanese players. Badawi (Buddy) Farah played 105 games for the Marconi Stallions and Wollongong Wolves and was a contender for the Australian Olympic team for 2000.

Boxing and Wrestling

A sporting arena in which the Lebanese in NSW have been notable is boxing and wrestling. Prior to World War Two, Australia had a combined boxing and wrestling association and wrestling matches were held in boxing rings rather than on mats and followed British rules rather than International rules. The same athletes often participated in wrestling and boxing matches and talented Lebanese sportsmen in NSW tended to be able to box and to wrestle.[220]

An early Lebanese boxer was Alexander ("Sconder") Nasser (1884-1947) who settled with his parents as a child in Queensland but as a young man lived in Sydney for some years where he had a successful boxing career under trainer Jim Byron. The high point of his career was to be invited to be a sparring partner for the black American Jack Johnson in his World Heavyweight title fight against the white Canadian world champion. Tommy Burns on 26th December 1908. Johnson was the far superior fighter and easily defeated Burns. [221]

Roger Nasser (1888-1973) fought under the name of 'Roy Victor' (because it did not sound foreign), in NSW and Queensland around the time of World War One.[222] He was a regular sparring partner of the legendary Les Darcy. During the 1930s, Roger Nasser managed a boxing gymnasium in Treloar's Lane, Tamworth and managed a number of talented boxers.[223]

Eddie Scarf is one of Australia's most successful wresters. He was the son of Michael G. and Amelia Scarf who had migrated from Lebanon and was born in Quirindi in 1908.[224] He was 1926 runner-up for the NSW heavyweight title at the age of 17. He went on to hold many State, National and Empire titles. Eddie Scarf represented Australia at two Olympic Games, Los Angeles, in 1932 where he won the Bronze

---

[217] Collis, Ian & Whiticker, Alan. *The history of Rugby League Clubs* Sydney: New Holland, 2004, p.167.
[218] North, Sam. 'Hero worship', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25-26th August, 2003, Sports Section.
[219] Shehadie, *op. cit.*.
[220] Marsh, Reg 'Wrestling' in *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport.* Melbourne: OUP, 1994 pp 466-7.
[221] Nasser *op. cit.* pp. 156-157.
[222] *Ibid.* pp. 157-159.
[223] *Ibid.*
[224] Sear, Tom. 'Scarf, Edward Richard (1908-1980)' *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne University Press. Vol. 13 p. 84.

Medal; and Berlin in 1936. In 1938, he retired as an amateur holding a number of titles in the heavyweight and light-heavyweight divisions and subsequently became a professional heavyweight champion of Australia sponsored by Stadiums Australia Ltd. During the war years, he toured Pacific war theatres giving morale boosting demonstration matches to Australian troops. Eddie Scarf's brother, Russell was another well known wrestler and was the NSW State Amateur Wrestling Champion during the war years.

A notable Australian boxer, Stan Sarroff, was the son of Lebanese immigrants who settled in the Hunter region. [225] Sarroff boxed professionally from 1944 to 1948 with a record of 41 wins from 45 fights in the featherweight division. Sarroff boxed under the name Jackie Green and in 1970, opened a gymnasium in Cessnock where he trained local sports people including the local Rugby League team until he died in 1985.

Another outstanding contributor to the sport was Wadi Youssef Ayoub who was born in Lebanon in 1927. As a young man, he excelled in Greco-Roman wrestling, eventually becoming the Champion of Lebanon. In 1951, Ayoub, looking for new opportunities, decided to settle in Australia and subsequently found his way into professional wrestling. He made his début at Leichhardt Stadium in 1953. Most professional wrestlers adopted a gimmicky name to best market their talents and Wadi Ayoub adopted or was given the name *Sheik Wadi Ayoub.* His boxing attire, fittingly, included a *keyfiah* on his head. As was generally the case in his bouts, Wadi Ayoub found little difficulty winning matches.[226] Ayoub travelled widely throughout Australia and the world, undertaking wrestling bouts and in the process became a well-known and popular sporting entertainment figure in Australia.[227]

While wrestling had been popular in Australia since the early 20th century, the advent of television saw the development of the televised 'World Championship Wrestling' hosted by Jack Little and Rugby international, Mick Cleary. Television increased the popularity of professional wrestling in the 1960s (its *Golden Age),* and helped make "Sheik" Wadi Ayoub and others, household names. Many of the wrestlers, like Ayoub, had proven themselves to be champions in the past and brought their adoring fans over to support their television careers. Wadi Ayoub, who was 'the darling' of the Lebanese, died of cancer in 1976.[228]

Car racing and water skiing

People are surprised to learn the first Bathurst *Grand Prix* was won by a Lebanese born Australian.

Alfred Najar came to Sydney from Lebanon with his parents as an eight-year old in 1926. He followed his grandparents and parents into the clothing industry by establishing his own large and successful clothing business in Surrey Hills, *Collette Creations.* He married Joy Aboud, the daughter of the prominent clothing manufacturer, Abraham Aboud.

---

[225] 'New gymnasium opens at Cessnock' *Maitland Mercury, 5th November 1970,.*

[226] Ayoub, Libnan with Tom Gannon. *100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling*. Marrickville, NSW: Topmill Pty Ltd. [1998]. pp. 122- 128.

[227] *Ibid.*

[228] *Ibid.*

Alfred was one of the founders of the Bathurst Mount Panorama Circuit as a Grand Prix motor racing circuit. As an owner-driver, he was very competitive and had considerable success in all motor sports in the 1945-1950 eras. He was three times *Grand Prix* winner: 1946 and 1947 in Bathurst, and 1948 in Melbourne at Point Cook.[229] Motoring writer, Mike Kable noted in the *Bathurst Story*:

> Alf Najar, driving in his first road race with a pretty, vivid red, special-bodied MG/TB prepared to perfection … took out the race title 26 seconds ahead of John Nind, also in a TB. [230]

Najar was also holder of many Sprint & Hill Climb records, including first post-war Australian Hill Climb Championship at Bathurst in 1946.

Alfred was decorated with a Warrant from Queen Elizabeth II, with the Australian Sports Medal for his contribution to and success in motor racing sport in Australia.

In 1946, together with the legendary "Gelignite" Jack Murray, he started the Water Skiing Sport in Australia with a ski club which continued for some 20 years. In 1948, he was a foundation member of the Australian Water Ski Association. By formalizing the activity Alf Najar established a glamorous, exciting sport that attracted young people, male and female, and offered the opportunity to those that did not own boats to participate.

Not one to retire too early, in 1982, Alfred took up Clay Target shotgun shooting and over 20 years, held Australian and New Zealand national titles. For around two years he was a member of the All Australian Five-Man Skeet Team which competed overseas. In October 2001, he was winner of 4 gold medals in the eighth Australian Masters Games held in Newcastle in clay target skeet competition.

Patrons

Country towns that provided homes and business opportunities to Lebanese immigrants also found enthusiastic patrons for local sporting teams and institutions. Today and from the beginning as individuals and as members of local organizations they have sponsored teams, clubs and sporting grounds.

---

[229] 'Stanton Michael and Marie Najar and Family in Australia' *Australian Lebanese Historical Society Newsletter*. Coogee, NSW: No. 7, Jan. 2002, pp. 2-3.

[230] Kable, Mike, 'The Bathurst Story' in Jack Pollard (ed.) *One for the Road*, North Sydney: Jack Pollard Pty Ltd, 1974 pp. 175-181.

Public Office and Civic Affairs

In NSW there is a record of Australian Lebanese holding public office. The highest official appointment in NSW, that of Governor, is currently filled by Professor Marie Bashir. Professor Bashir is the granddaughter of pioneer Lebanese immigrants who established themselves in Redfern as wholesalers. Her parents had a retail business in Narrandera, where she grew up.

Lebanese immigrants and their descendants have been involved in politics and civic affairs from early days. Their involvement shows that Lebanese immigrants had a commitment to their new country, despite maintaining links with their homeland. As permanent settlers, they are keen to participate in the civic affairs of a democratic nation. The following examples demonstrate the serious intent and commitment of Lebanese settlers and their descendents in rural and urban area of NSW.

Rural Service

Reflecting the nature of Lebanese settlement and their role as local business people and respected members of their local communities, several Lebanese immigrants have been elected to rural municipal and shire councils. For instance in recent times Alexander Bookallil, for example, was an Alderman on Cooma Municipal Council from 1942 to 1974 and also a member of the Monaro County Council for twelve years. A column has been erected in his honour in Cooma by the local Monaro Shire to commemorate his civic service.[231] In 1998, Tony Kaltoum Rahme who migrated from the village of Becharrie in 1962 was also a Mayor of Monaro.[232] Michael Yarad was an Alderman on Taree Municipal Council. [233]

Stan Mallick (1910 – 1990) was born in Bterram and migrated to Australia in 1924 as a teenager. He started working as a hawker at 16 and in 1931 opened a men's wear store at Blayney. During his years in Blayney, he established the town's newspaper and was elected to the Lyndhurst Shire Council in 1956. He was also involved in many of Blayney's and Bathurst's service and sporting clubs. In a letter to the electors of Lyndhurst Shire, he highlighted the need for all citizens to take part in activities that would 'build a bigger and better town'. He was especially concerned there would not be enough housing in the town for an influx of new residents attracted by work in the newly opened abattoirs which he had also championed. [234] He would, he said, 'fight for all that was right'. In 1957, Mallick and his family left Blayney, after a public farewell, to live in Sydney where he began manufacturing the *Standex* brand men's clothing. Mallick retained his public spiritedness in Sydney. He joined the Council of St George Antioch Orthodox Cathedral and was its President for 29 years till 1987. He was also President of the Australian Lebanese Association in 1973. [235]

---

[231] Storm, Doris. *Papers of Doris Storm*. Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales. MSMSS6255. (Doris Storm is a descendant of the Bookallil family).
[232] Fakhry, Petronella. o*p.cit.*
[233] 'Yarad, Michael Callile' pp. 365-367, in *St George Cathedral and it people* … p. 366.
[234] Mallick, Stanley, 'Lyndhurst Shire Election: to the electors of D Riding' No Title. [Newspaper clipping dated Dec. 1956 in the files of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.].
[235] 'Mallick, Stanley Abraham', pp. 264-265 in *St. George Cathedral and its people…*

Emile (George) Moufarrige

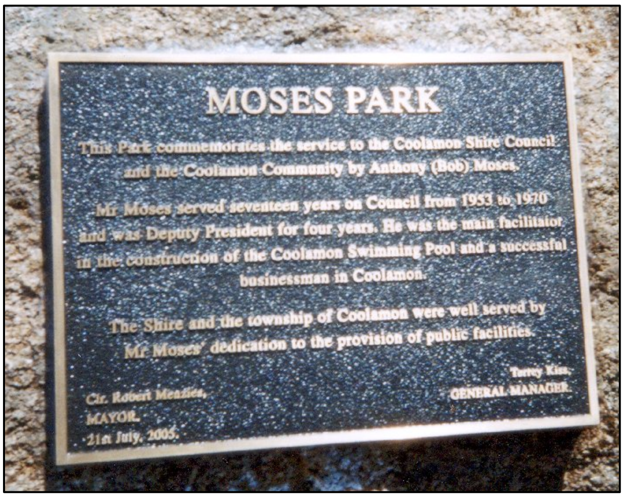
Emile (George) Moufarrige (1906 – 1987) was born in Lebanon in 1906 and immigrated to NSW in 1925, eventually settling in Mudgee in 1927 where he bought a clothing business. Moufarrige was first elected to Mudgee Council in 1947 and served on and off until 1974. He was Mayor for ten years from 1960 to 1967 and from 1972 to 1973. He was re-elected to the Council again in 1980 and was Mayor again from 1981 to 1983. He was still serving as a Councillor when he died in 1987. [236]

Habib Habib

Habib Habib served as an elected member of Lismore City Council for 38 years, served 30 years on a regional water authority, and 35 years on the Local Government Gas Advisory Committee. He presided over Lismore City Council's Airport Advisory Committee for 26 years and despite being in his 90s, was still one of its members in 2003. In 1991 the airport lounge was named after him His support of the airport clearly went beyond committee decision making because in its early years, he cleared it for the arrival of aircraft, lit kerosene lamp flight paths for night arrivals, pumped fuel and logged flights in and out.[237]

Anthony "Bob" Moses

Anthony "Bob" Moses (1910-1978) was born in Braidwood to Lebanese immigrant parents. His family moved to Temora in 1923 where they opened a wool business. In 1936, he married Mary Nasser, daughter of Lebanese shopkeepers from West Wyalong, and they moved to Coolamon to open a wool buying business, before going on to be a substantial landholder and grazier in the district. He served as Sergeant in the Volunteer Defence Corps during World War Two. In the post-war years he was very active in civic affairs and was elected to Coolamon Council in 1953. He served on the Council until 1970, including 4 years as Deputy President. In 1965, his eldest son, Ivan, died after fighting a bushfire. In 2005, the Council placed a plaque in Moses Park in honour of Bob Moses. [238]



Memorial plaque commemorating Anthony "Bob" Moses at Coolamon NSW.

---

[236] 'Moufarrige, Emile George and Thelma' *St George Cathedral and its people*, p. 304.

[237] Giddins, Diane, 'Party for a 90th: celebration for a living legend of Lismore', *The Northern Star*, 29th July, 2003.

[238] Brennan, Mark. *Coolamon '81*, Coolamon, NSW : Coolamon Centenary Celebrations Committee, 1981.

Sydney Metropolitan Area

Reflecting the concentration of the Lebanese community in the Sydney metropolitan area, a significant number of Lebanese have served and continue to serve on municipal councils in the Sydney area.

Sir Nicholas Shehadie

The best known example is that of Sir Nicholas 'Nick' Shehadie who became Lord Mayor of Sydney. He stood for the non-aligned, Civic Reform Movement in 1962 for the Northcote Ward, which covered, perhaps fittingly, the areas around Redfern where the early Lebanese settlers had first made their home in NSW. His seat was abolished in 1967 when boundary changes saw his ward included in the newly created South Sydney Council. He was re-elected to a ward in the new City of Sydney boundaries and was elected by his colleagues to be Lord Mayor in 1973 and held this office until he resigned in 1977. In 1987, the Labor Minister for Local Government, overseeing another change to city boundaries, appointed Shehadie as one of three Commissioners who ran the city until fresh elections were held in 1988.[239]

George Dan

George Dan (1913 – 1964) who became Mayor of Randwick is an example of a Lebanese, suburban, public office holder. He was born in Redfern in 1913, the son of Lebanese immigrants, and he carried on the family's wholesale soft goods business. He was first elected to Randwick Council in 1944. He was the Deputy Mayor in 1949, 1959 and 1963, and the Mayor in 1950. He stood for Federal parliament for the Liberal Party for the seat of Kingsford-Smith against Lionel Bowen. He died of cancer in 1964. Other Australian Lebanese in the area have followed in his footsteps by serving as Aldermen and Councillors on Randwick Council. [240]

Parliamentary Office

Lebanese Australians, such Alexander Alam have been prominent in State politics. Today, Barbara Perry, the Labor Member for Auburn is the first woman of Lebanese ancestry to hold a parliamentary seat and be appointed to the NSW Ministry. She is Minister for Juvenile Justice, Minister for Western Sydney, and Minister Assisting the Premier on Citizenship. Richard Torbey, the independent Member for the Northern Tablelands MLC, is now Speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Thomas George, a National Party MLC is the National Party upper house whip. Edward "Eddie" Obeid, a Labor Member of the Legislative Council since 1991 and was a Minister in the Carr Government. Obeid was the publisher of *El Telegraph,* the largest Arabic language newspaper in Australia and he records he is the only Lebanese migrant elected to an Australian parliament.[241] John Ajaka, the Parliamentary Secretary to the Shadow Attorney General, was elected to the Legislative Council in 2006 and he records he is the first Australian of Lebanese descent to be elected as a Liberal to a parliament. [242]

As these examples show, Lebanese immigrants and their descendants have been for public office from all sides of politics.

---

[239] Shehadie, Sir Nicholas. *A life worth living,* pp. 115-147.
[240] 'G. N. E. Dan', *Weekly Courier,* 26th August, 1959, p. 26 & clippings file on George Dan in collection of Randwick & District Historical Society.
[241] Humphries, David, 'Drawing a bead on Obeid', *The Sydney Morning Herald,* 21-20th September, 2002. p. 28.
[242] Correspondence between John Ajaka, MLC and ALHS, 22 June 2007.

Conclusion

As demonstrated, although they were not favoured as immigrants, the Lebanese have a long history of settlement in NSW. While their presence has not always been recognized, the personal and collective stories of the immigrants and their descendants have contributed to the heritage of the State. We have used a number of case studies and cited examples of the deeds of many individuals; however, in this relatively short work, it is impossible to account for every aspect of the history of the Australian Lebanese in NSW.

This document has outlined the significant themes in the experiences of Lebanese in NSW. In particular, it has been shown that despite extensive legislative discrimination, the Lebanese immigrants were intent on being settlers not sojourners and sought to contribute positively to the new society as full and active citizens. As permanent settlers, Lebanese Australians adapted institutions and cultural practices from the *old country* to local conditions. Through enterprise and hard work, they sought to achieve economic well being for their families and better prospects for their children.

This brief history of Lebanese settlement in NSW through key themes highlights the heritage of Lebanese Australians in NSW. This heritage exists throughout the state of NSW in concrete objects such as buildings, in public spaces such as Redfern Park, in organizations, and in the stories of individuals and their families. By describing this history and by emphasizing a number of dominant themes, we aim to have sites and items of significance heritage listed. This document also gives researchers clues regarding areas worthy of further study.

Bibliography

Manuscript Sources

Storm, Doris. *Papers concerning the Bookallil family: 1897 – 1993,* Mitchell Library, Sydney. MSMSS6255.

Colonial Secretary Correspondence, Special Bundles, 1901 - 1982. 1908, Visit of American fleet — arrangements for social functions and accounts [*4/967-69, 5/5228*], State Records NSW.

1083/08/242 - The American Fleet. The coming visit - reference in Parliament, donations include £3000 from the Syrians, Fort Denison will have the saluting battery, position of veterans at the review in Centennial Park to be considered ... (*Herald*) - 1083 Town Clerks News Clippings Book, 21st Jan 1901 - 29 Dec 1925 – Sydney City Archives.

Box 7163/312995 *Probate papers for Richard (Rashid) Arida*. State Records NSW.

Australian Bureau of Statistics

Cat. No. 2068.0. Census tables. 2006 Census of population and Housing New South Wales Tables: 20680- Country of birth of person by sex - New South Wales & Ancestry of Country of Birth by Parents – New South Wales.

Australian Bureau of Statistics. 2001 Census of population and Housing New South Wales Tables: - Country of birth of person by sex - New South Wales & Ancestry of Country of Birth by parents – New South Wales.

'Religion of Birthplace Groups, 1991', Cat. No. 4102.0 - Australian Social Trends, 1995. Canberra : Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1995.

Year Book Australia, 2007 Cat. No. 1301.0, Canberra : Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2007.

Published Sources

Adams, Christine. *Sharing the lode: the Broken Hill Migrant Story,* Sydney : Migration Heritage Centre, 2005.

Ata, Abe W. *Arab-Lebanese religious affiliates and their attitudinal discrepancies in Australia,* North Fitzroy, Vic. : CIRC Reprints, 1987.

The Australian People: an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins edited by James Jupp, Oakleigh, Vic : Cambridge University Press, 2001. There is a comprehensive chapter on the history of Lebanese immigration to Australia which includes:

- McKay, J. & T. Batrouney, *Lebanese Immigration until the 1970s*, pp. 554-558
- Hage, G. *The Condition of Lebanon since 1958,* pp. 559-561
- Humphrey, M. *Lebanese since 1970,* pp. 561-567
- Batrouney, T. *Lebanese Community Life in Melbourne,* pp. 567-569.

Australian Kfarsghab Lebanese Association. *Centenary Jubilee of the Kfarsghab Migration 1880 – 1980,* Booklet issued for Centenary Jubilee, Wentworth Hotel, Sydney, August 9, 1980.

Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. *Goulburn and Beyond: Lebanese settlement in south eastern New South Wales: 1880's to 1930s,* Coogee : Australian Lebanese Historical Society, 2006.

Lebanese Community Council of NSW. *Resource Directory*, Bankstown, NSW : LCC of NSW, 1990.

Lebanese Moslem Association. *LMA Fundraising Documentary 2003,* [VHS Video Recording] Lakemba, NSW : Lebanese Moslem Association, 2003.

Annabel, Rosemary and Cable, Kenneth. South Sydney Heritage Study, (2 vols.), (Revised ed.) Sydney : Tropman & Tropman Architects, Nov. 1995.

Anthony, Dawn, Elaine & Selwa. *Lebanese Cookbook*, Sydney : Ure Smith, 1978.

Ayoub, Libnan with Tom Gannon. *100 Years of Australian Professional Wrestling*, Marrickville, NSW : Topmill Pty Ltd. [1998].

Batrouney, Andrew & Trevor. *The Lebanese in Australia,* (Australian Ethnic Heritage Series), Melbourne : AE Press, 1983.

Beckett, Ray and Richard. *Hangman: the life and times of Alexander Green, public executioner to the Colony of New South Wales,* Melbourne : Nelson, 1980.

Bittar, Pauline & Koorey, John. *Pauline Bittar interview by John Koorey,* Oral History Collection Series, No. 3, Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., 2007.

Boosahada, Elizabeth. *Arab-American faces and voices: the origins of an immigrant community,* Austin, Texas : University of Texas Press, 2003.

Brennan, Mark. *Coolamon '81,* Coolamon, NSW : Coolamon Centenary Celebrations Committee, 1981.

Brennan, R. M. *Across the black soil plains: a history of the Warren district,* 2nd ed, Warren, NSW : Warren Shire Council, 1975.

Choi, C. Y. *Chinese Migration and settlement in Australia*, Sydney : Sydney University Press, 1975.

Coglan, T. A. *General Report on the Eleventh Census of New South* Wales, Sydney : Government Printer, 1894.

Collins, Jock, *et. al. Kebabs, kids, cops & crime: youth, ethnicity and crime,* Annandale, NSW : Pluto Press, 2000.

Collins, Jock, *et. al. Shop full of dreams: ethnic small business in Australia,* Leichhardt : Pluto Press, 1995.

Collis, Ian & Whiticker, Alan. *The history of Rugby League Clubs,* Sydney : New Holland, 2004.

Convy, Paul. *The Lebanese Quarter: Mapping the Syrian/Lebanese Quarter at Redfern - time, place and extent,* Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. 2006.

Daniels, Dale. *Social Security Payments for People Caring for Children, 1912 to 2006,* Canberra : Social Policy Group, Library, Parliament of Australia, (update of 5 July 2006; accessed on 21 July 2007) - http://www.aph.gov.au/library/pubs/online/children_parta.htm.

Dawalibi, Vivianne. *Report on the Melkite Community Profile, NSW,* [Greenacre, NSW] : Melkite Catholic Eparchy Corporation of Australia and New Zealand, 2002.

Donohoe, James Hugh. *The forgotten Australians: the non Anglo or Celtic convicts and exiles,* North Sydney, NSW, 1991. ISBN 0731651294

Donovan, Roseanna. *Joe Gazal: the story of a migrant, a family and a company,* [Sydney] : the author, 1998.

Drury, Susan. *The Lebanese*, Making Australian Society Series. West Melbourne, Vic.: Nelson, 1981.

Dutton, David. *Citizenship in Australia: a guide to Commonwealth Government Records, Research* Guide No. 10, Canberra : National Archives of Australia, 2000.

Dyer, Nick. *The Dyer family: a loving tribute to Salem Dyer and Mintaha Trad,* [Brisbane] : 1991. ISBN 0977531805.

Evan, Alun. *A Navy for Australia*, Sydney : Australian Broadcasting Commission, 2001.

Gaha. R. T. *Lebanese ancestry in Australia, the story of two families,* Sefton, N.S.W.: R. Gaha, 1988.

Goulburn and beyond: Lebanese settlement in south eastern New South Wales: 1880s to 1930s, Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc, 2006.

Hage, Ghasssan, (ed.). *Arab-Australians Today: citizenship and belonging,* Carlton South, Vic.: University of Melbourne Press, 2002.

Hitti, Phillip. K. *Syrians in America*, New York : George H. Doran, 1924.

Hooglund, Eric J. *Crossing the waters: Arabic-speaking immigrants to the United States before 1940,* Washington : Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987.

Jameson, Julietta, (ed.). *The ties that bind: six journeys home*, Sydney : Bantam Books, 2002.

Kass, Terry and Walker, Meredith. *Canterbury Heritage Study,* (2 vols.), *Campsie*, NSW : 1988.

Keneally, Thomas. *The great shame: a story of the Irish in the Old World and the New*, London : Chatto & Windus, 1988.

King, Carmel. *A new beginning*, [Gayndah, Qld.] : The author, 1994.

London, H. I. *Non-white immigration and the 'White Australia Policy'*, Sydney : Sydney University Press, 1970.

Lyng, Jens. *Non-Britishers in Australia, Influence on population and progress*, Melbourne : Macmillan & Co. 1927. (2 editions: 1927 and 1935), In association with Melbourne University Press, pp. 185-187. [In Chapter: 'The Brown Race' the author has a section on the 'The Syrians'].

McDonald, Peter. *Community Profiles: Lebanon born*, Canberra : Dept. Immigration, Multicultural and Ethnic Affairs, Feb. 2000.

McKay, Jim. *Phoenician Farewell: three generations of Lebanese Christians in Australia*, Australian Studies in the Social Sciences Series, Melbourne : Ashwood House Academic, 1989.

Madden, Brian J. & Muir, Lesley. *Campsie's Past: a history of Campsie and Croydon Park NSW*, Campsie, NSW : Canterbury Municipal Council, 1988

Mansour, Nicholas. *Father Nicholas Mansour; Brian Stewart [sound recording] with Caroline Jones.* Sydney : ABC Radio Tapes [between 1990? and 1992]. 1 sound cassette. Search for Meaning Series (Radio Program) tape 59. [SLNSW RAV/ TAPE 1/ 584 SET No.59].

Melick, Freda Gaha. *A tribute to the beautiful life of Aziz Bey Melick.* Sydney, 1934.

Mellick, Alec. *A Trip Abroad - Wingham to the Old Land: a few impressions* Wingham, NSW : The Chronicle Office, c1935.

Naff, Alixa. *Becoming American: the early Arab immigrant experience.* Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1985.

Nasser, Roger. *From Kousba to Clermont: the Nasser and Solomon Families' Australian story.* [Brisbane] : the author, 2001. ISBN 0646406671.

Owen, June Duncan. *Mixed matches: interracial marriage in Australia*, Kensington, NSW : UNSW Press, 2002.

Perkins, Kevin. *Dare to dream: the life and times of a proud Australian*, [Tom Hayson]. Sydney : Golden Wattle Press, 2002.

Pollard, Lily Moussa. *Bann: the Australian Immigration,* Thornleigh, NSW : Bann Research Group, 1993.

Poynting, Scott, *et. al. Bin Laden in the suburbs: criminalizing the Arab other,* Criminology Series #18, Sydney : Sydney Institute of Criminology, 2004.

Records Made Real Lebanese Settlement 1865 to 1945, Papers from a Seminar on historical Sources held at the Sydney Records Centre, The Rocks, 14th September 2001, Coogee, NSW : Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., 2002.

Redfern Municipal Council, *Souvenir of Redfern Municipal Jubilee 1859-1909,* Redfern : The Council, 1909.

Roberts, Randy. *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the era of the White Hope,* NY : Free Press, 1983.

Rolfe, Patricia. *The Journalistic Javelin: an illustrated history of the* Bulletin, Sydney : Wildcat Press, 2000.

St. George Cathedral and its people: past, present and future, Double Bay, NSW : Longueville Media, 2004.

Salibi, K. S. *The Modern History of Lebanon*, Delmar, NY : Caravan Books, 1997.

Shehadie, Sir Nicholas. *A life worth living,* Roseville, NSW : Simon & Schuster, 2003.

Storm, Doris. *The Bookallil Baz Connection,* [Sydney]: The author, [1995]. [Held at State Library of NSW Q929.20994/B724.6/1].

Storm, Doris. *The memories of Gordon Michael Bookallil,* Sydney : The Author, [n.d.]. [Held at State Library of NSW Q770.92/B724.7/1.]

State Records NSW. *Lebanese migration and settlement in NSW.* Archives in Brief No. 62. Sydney : State Records NSW, September 2005.

Stevens, F. S. (ed.). *Racism: The Australian Experience*, 2nd ed., Sydney : Australia & New Zealand Book Company, 1974.

Symond, John. *Aussie John,* Ringwood, Vic.: Penguin Books, 2003.

Tabar, Paul. *Lebanese Migrants in Australia and New Zealand: an annotated bibliography*, Lebanese Emigration Research Centre (LERC) and Notre Dame University, Louaize Press.

Tavan, Gwenda. *The long, slow death of White Australia*, Melbourne : Scribe Publications, 2005.

Taylor, Peter. *Food from far away: an ethnic cookbook for Australians,* Sydney : Doubleday, 1982.

Turnbull, Craig and Chris Valiotis. *Beyond the Rolling Wave; A Thematic History of Greek Settlement in NSW*, Kensington, NSW : University of New South Wales and New South Wales Heritage Office, 2001.

Webber, Kimberley, *et. al. What's in store? : a history of retailing in Australia,* Sydney : Powerhouse Museum in association with the NSW Heritage Office, 2003.

White, Patrick. *The Aunt's Story,* NY : Viking, 1948.

Wilton, Janis. *Hawking to Haberdashery: immigrants in the bush,* Armidale, NSW : Armidale C.A.E., 1987.

Yarwood, Alexander T. *Asian migration to Australia: the background to exclusion 1896-1923,* Melbourne : Melbourne University Press, 1967.

Periodicals

'Consular party was a family affair' *The Sunday Mail,* Brisbane, 7th December, 1947.

'G. N. E. Dan', *Weekly Courier,* 26th August, 1959.

'History of Lebanese Migration to Australia', *Monthly Newsletter,* Lebanese Christian Club of Chouf Coast, Campsie, NSW, No. 55 July 1988, p. 1.

'Hospitable England; Mr A. J. Anthony's tour impressions …' *The Northern Miner,* [No date], C. October 1937. [Clippings file of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.].

'Lebanese Anzacs', pp. 1-12. *Newsletter*. Coogee: Australian Lebanese Historical Society, No. 14, Second Quarter, 2004.

'Lebanese settlement in the Manning', *Journal,* Wingham, NSW : Manning Valley Historical Society Inc. Number 15, February 2002, pp. 11-15. ISSN 13289829.

'Loss of a Gentleman: Obituary [Nassim Farah]', *Wentworth Courier,* 14th August 2002, p. 18.

'The Melkite Greek Catholic Church' *Australasian Catholic Record,* Vol. 73, No. 1 January 1996, pp. 47-56.

'News of the death … of Stanley Abraham Mellick…' *The Lyndhurst Shire Chronicle,* Thursday, November 29th 1990, p. 9.

'Old Identity Passes': Notes and News Column, *The Braidwood Despatch,* Tuesday February 15, 1938.

'People: [Monsignor Alam] death at Dunnedo' *The Catholic Weekly,* Sydney. 2nd November, 1944.

'Pioneer Lebanese Catholic family: Anthony Peter Baynie 1892/1991' [Obituary] *Annals Australia,* October/November 1991. p. 28.

'Stanton Michael and Marie Najar and Family in Australia' *Newsletter,* Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., Coogee, NSW : No. 7, Jan. 2002, pp. 2-3.

'Syrians in the South: a colony at Redfern', *The Illustrated Sydney News,* November 18th 1892, p. 4.

'Wedding Bells, Anthony-Sarks ….' *The North-western Watchman*, Thursday 1st April 1937, p. 8.

Alderton, Eileen, 'How Australians are helping in war-scarred Lebanon', *The Australian Women's Weekly,* February 1984. pp. 10-11.

Azize, Joseph. 'A brief history of the Maronite Church in Australia', *Marounia,* Strathfield, NSW: Maronite Eparchy of Australia, No. 8, September 2005, Special Souvenir Edition. pp. 34-36.

Batrouney, Eddie. 'Lebanese in Australia – particularly at Albury', *Albury and District Historical Society Bulletin,* Nos. 247 & 248 (Feb. to March 1987).

Bradley, Michael. 'Bulldog's bash-and-dash puts girls into a league of their own', *Sydney Morning Herald,* 25/26th August 2001.

Burnley, I. *Lebanese Migration and Settlement in Sydney, Australia,* Sydney : Centre for Migration Studies, No. 7, 29p. (Reprint of the article appearing *International Migration Review,* Vol. 16 No. 1 1984 2 pp. 102-132).

Caskie, Patricia. 'TV epics pale beside the Deeps family story' *Cootamundra Herald*, Wednesday January 27th , 1993, p. 6.

Chryssavgis, Miltiad. 'Orthodoxy in Australia'. *Australasian Catholic Record,* Vol. 73, No. 1, January 1996, pp. 23-37.

Cockerill, Michael. 'Buddy make name for himself in Lebanon', *Sydney Morning Herald,* October 21st, 2003.

Coorey, Phillip. 'How to Google up a family', *Sydney Morning Heral,.* January 8th, 2007, pp. 17-8.

Fakhry, Petronella. 'Becharrie Pioneers to Australia', *Becharie News,* Sydney : Enfield, NSW, July 2001, Vol. 36, pp. 6-7.

Farrar, Derril. 'Aid man risks war horrors; Australia rebuilds orphanages', *The Sunday Telegraph*, Sydney: 11th December, 1983, p. 21.

Giddins, Diane. 'Party for a 90th: celebration for a living legend of Lismore', The *Northern Star,* 29th July, 2003.

Greenland, Hall. ‘Brothers in arms’, *The Bulletin*, 8th August 2006. p. 20-21.

Hyndman-Rizik, Nelia. ‘The Hadchiti Diaspora: a re-territorialized Lebanese village in Western Sydney’, pp. 5-7. *Newsletter*, Coogee NSW: Australian Lebanese Historical Society, No. 20: Summer 2005.

Jayaraman, Raja. ’Inclusion and exclusion: an analysis of the Australian Immigration History and ethnic relations’, *Journal of Popular Culture*, Vol. 34, No. 1 (Summer 2000), pp. 141-142.

Marsh, Reg. ‘Wrestling’ in *Oxford Companion to Australian Sport.* Melbourne: OUP, 1994, pp. 466-7.

Menghetti, Diane. 'Arida, Joseph Dominique (1863? - 1924)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Volume 13, Melbourne : MUP, 1993, p. 69.

Monsour, Anne. ‘Religion Matters: the experience of Syrian/Lebanese Christians in Australia from the 1880s to 1947, *Humanities Research*, XII, 1, 2005, pp. 93-106.

Moriarty, Adele. ‘Growing up in Redfern’ *Newsletter*, Coogee: The Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., No. 11 May 2003. pp. 9-11.

Morris, Rachel. ‘Now Sydney’s most famous road stretches to Lebanon’ *The Daily Telegraph*, Wednesday, May 8th, 2002, p. 23.

North, Sam. ‘Hero worship’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 25-26th August, 2003, Sports Section.

Sahade, Victor. ‘Lebanon Journey’ *The Cedars*, (Official Journal of the Australian Lebanese Association) Vol. 1. No. 3, Nov.-Dec., 1958, p. 7.

Saleh, Lillian. ‘A sound way to Arabian days: *Jirrin* Journey’. *The Daily Telegraph*, Saturday 8th February, 2002, p. 83.

Sear, Tom. ‘Scarf, Edward Richard (1908-1980)’ , Vol. 13, *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Melbourne : MUP Press, p. 84.

Simmons, H. L. N. & Cuneen, Chris. ‘Mansour, Sylwanos’, *Australian Dictionary of Biography,* Vol. 10. Melbourne : MUP, 1986, p. 405.

Stephens, Tony. ‘A little Lebanese queen becomes an Aussie matriarch’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, Saturday 3rd August, 1991, p. 5.

Takchi, Joseph. ‘The Maronite Catholic Church in Australia: diversity in the Universal Catholic Church’, *Australasian Catholic Record,* Vol. 73, No. 1 January 1996, pp. 12-22.

Toohey, Paul. ‘Coalition of the fleeing’ *The Bulletin,* 1st August, 2006, p. 8.

Verrocchio, Jacqueline & Bruce Pennay. ‘Interesting Street Heritage: Abikhair’s Haberdashery, Albury’, *Locality*, Vol. 9, No. 1, 1998.

Volke, Harvey. ‘Of racism, plague and the Syrians', *Newsletter*, Coogee, NSW : The Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., No. 4, 2001, pp. 3-5.

Wainwright, Robert. ‘Finding a voice’, *Sydney Morning Herald,* 26-27th November 2005, p. 31.

Whitehouse, Georgina. 'The Shehadie Family and the Antioch Orthodox Church', *Newsletter,* Coogee, NSW : The Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc., No. 6, September 2001. pp. 3-4.

York, Barry. ‘Ethnic Press: Asians and Arabs, 1980-1990s’, *National Library of Australia News,* December 2003, pp. 15-17.

York, Barry. ‘The Dictation Test: White Australia’s Tangled Web’, *Canberra Historical Journal*, 27 (1991), pp. 33-39.

Chapters from Books

‘Suzanne’s Story’, in Courtney, Louise and Massola, Linda. *Australian immigration stories, 1960-1980.* Sydney : Heinemann Library, 2004, pp. 20-21.

Ata, Abe W. ‘The Arabic ethnic press’ in *The Ethnic press in Australia,* Melbourne : Academia Press, 1989. pp. 248-271.

Batrouney, Trevor. ‘Australian Lebanese: return visits to Lebanon and issues of identity’, in Paul Tabar (ed.) *Lebanese Diaspora: history, racism and belonging,* Beirut, Lebanon : Lebanese American University, 2005, pp. 291-317.

Batrouney, Trevor. ‘The Lebanese in Australia: 1880-1989’ pp. 413-442 in Hourani, A. and Shehadie, N, (eds.), *The Lebanese in the World: A century of migration,* London : Centre for Lebanese Studies and I. B. Tauris, 1992.

Collins, Jock, ‘From Beirut to Bankstown: the Lebanese Diaspora in multicultural Australia’, in .aul Tabar (ed.) *Lebanese Diaspora: history, racism and belonging,* Beirut, Lebanon : Lebanese American University, 2005, pp 187- 211.

Curthoys, Ann. ‘Liberalism and exclusionism: a prehistory of the White Australia Policy’, in Jayasuriya, Lakisiri, David Walker & Jan Gothard, (eds.), *Legacies of a White Australia: race, culture and nation,* Crawley, WA : University of Western Australia Press, 2003.

Humphrey, Michael. ‘Sectarianism and the politics of Identity: the Lebanese in Sydney’, in Hourani, A. and Shehadie, N. (eds.), *The Lebanese in the World: A century of migration,* London : Centre for Lebanese Studies and I. B. Tauris, 1992, pp. 443-471.

Jones, Gavin W. ‘White Australia, National Identity and Population change’ in Jayasuriya, Lakisiri, David Walker & Jan Gothard, (eds.), *Legacies of a White*

Australia: race, culture and nation, Crawley, WA : University of Western Australia Press, 2003.

Kable, Mike. ‘The Bathurst Story’ in Jack Pollard (ed.), *One for the Road*, North Sydney : Jack Pollard Pty. Ltd., 1974, pp. 175-181.

Monsour, Anne. ‘Sitti was a hawker! Writing Syrian/Lebanese women into Queensland History’, in Wendy Madsen & Angelika, (eds.), *Smashing the glass ceiling: women researchers in a regional community*, Rockhampton, Qld. : Centre for Social Science Research, CQU, 2002.

Radi, Heather, *et. al.* ‘Alam, Anthony Alexander’, *Biographical Register of the New South Wales Parliament, 1901 – 1970,* Canberra: 1979.

Yarwood, Alexander T. ‘Attitudes towards Non-European Migrants’, in F. S. Stevens, (ed.), *Racism: The Australian Experience*, 2nd ed., Sydney : Australia & New Zealand Book Company, 1974.

Unpublished Sources

Afiouny, Farouk. *Unpublished Oral History Transcript,* [recorded in January 2003] Australian Lebanese Historical Society files.

Hawkins, Ralph. *The Lebanese Community in Thornleigh,* [Typescript] Hornsby, NSW : The Author, c. 2004. (Ralph Hawkins provided a copy of his manuscript which is preparatory to publishing a detailed article about the Lebanese in Thornleigh).

Kirk, Julie Michelle. *Australia’s “Cradle City”: A Critique of Official Heritage in Parramatta,* Thesis submitted for partial completion of a Bachelor of Arts (Honours), School of Geography and Oceanography, University College, ADFA, UNSW. Canberra, October 1998. [Held at Heritage Council, Parramatta – Q994.41/PAR].

Mansour, Gwen. *Interview with Mrs Gwen Mansour,* Interviewed 13th November 2006 at Randwick. [Held in the files of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.]

Mograby, Abdallah. *Lebanese political behaviour in Sydney,* Masters of Arts Thesis, School of Government and Public Administration, University of Sydney. 1985 [Held Rare Book Library, Fisher Library, University of Sydney].

Monsour, Anne. *Negotiating a place in a White Australia. Syrian/Lebanese in Australia, 1880 to 1947, a Queensland case study,* Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of History, Religion and Classic, the University of Queensland, August, 2004.

Sedjerari, Rev. Father Joseph K., P.P. *History of St Michael's Melkite Catholic Cathedral.* [c. 2001, Typescript. Collection of the Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc.].

Yared, Yasmin & Koorey, John. *Yasmine Yared interviewed by John Koorey.* [unpublished oral history transcript], Darling Point, NSW; 7th October 2006 – Australian Lebanese Historical Society Inc. Oral History Project.

Ephemera

An appeal to the Lebanon Emigrants, [broadsheet newsletter in English and Arabic]. Beirut, 18th September 1937.

Australian Aid for Lebanon, [Letterhead]. Chairman Reuben F. Scarf. [Sydney, c. 1983].

Complimentary Banquet tendered by the Lebanese (Syrian) Citizens of Australia to Abraham D. Aboud Esq on the occasion of his departure from Sydney on a trip to America, Europe and Syria, (Presentation menu featuring dinner Order of Toasts, Dinner Menu and Musical Programme). Sydney, Tuesday 8th April, 1924. Printed by Bookman Press Ltd.

Cronulla 2230: win back Australia, [Board Game, .pdf file] Version 2.0a, 2006.

Ghorra, Olga. *Acknowledgements [of donations to the Lebanon Institute of the Blind Appeal],* [Leaflet], Sydney, August 8, 1955, 4 pages.

Jaza El Shahania, (Programme and synopsis and cast of characters). Performed Easter Monday March 28th 1932. Printed by Edwards & Best, 32 Elizabeth Street, Redfern.

Jirrin Journey: Arabic heritage and contemporary artists, [Exhibition catalogue], held at the Parramatta Heritage Centre, 1st February, 2002 to 31st March 2002. ISBN 0958026904.

Lebanon-Tourist Paradise [Pamphlet: Lebanon Institute for the Blind Appeal, 22p.], Sydney : 1955, (Printed by Market Printery, 372a Pitt St. Sydney).

Seventh Annual Ball, Rex Hotel Beach Road Bondi Friday August 29th 1958, [Entry Ticket], Antiochian Church of NSW, Women's Committee.

Souvenir Menu to celebrate the opening of the new Premises …., 5th July 1953. Lebanese Restaurant and Club. [Cleveland Street, Surrey Hills, NSW].

'Very important notice to the Lebanese emigrants desirous to opt for the Lebanese Nationality instead of the Turkish Nationality', *Bulletin No. 10*, Consulate General for Lebanon 527 New South Head Road, Double Bay, 10th May 1954.